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Editor: *SAMUEL COULING.*

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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

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ON HSÜ HSIA-K'O, 徐霞客 (1586-1641) EXPLORER AND GEOGRAPHER

BY

V. K. TING*

When Sir Aurel Stein went to Turkestan to explore for archæological purposes, he was in the habit of telling his Chinese friends that he had Hsüan Chuang (玄 奘), the celebrated monk and traveller, as his patron saint, and he metaphorically attributed the success of the expedition to his protection. Well, I had also a patron saint of my own when I went to south-western China in 1911 and again in 1914. His name is Hsü Hung-tsu (徐 宏 祖), more commonly called Hsü Hsia-k'o, under which name all his works are known. Whether my patron saint is as great a man or rather saint, you will have an opportunity to judge for yourselves to-night, but in one respect at any rate I can claim some advantage over Sir Aurel in my choice, because Hsü Hsia-k'o was born in 1586, only some 300 years before me in the district of Chiang-yin (江 陰) in the Yangtze delta scarcely 20 miles from my parental home. So both in time and space I am much nearer to my patron saint than Sir Aurel ever was to his, and presumably I ought to have been in closer spiritual communion with my protector. Incidentally this convinces me that there needs be no

*Read before the Wên Yu Hui (文 友 會), Peking, June 14, 1921.

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relation between the protector and the protected, for Sir Aurel in spite of his shadowy claim over Hsüan Chuang has become deservedly famous.

As we have seen Hsü Hsia-k'o was born in 1586. He died in 1641 at the age of 55. Now the half century in which he spent his life is one of the most important landmarks in the history of Chinese civilization. In order to understand the spirit of his time I must ask your permission to make a short excursion into Chinese history.

Summarily stated, the T'ang (唐) dynasty that ruled China from the 7th to the 9th century saw a glorious development of fine art and imaginative literature, but on the whole it was hopelessly inefficient in politics and administration. There was no lack of religious enthusiasm, but the spirit of the time was too liberal and artistic to practise strictly any rigid dogma. Life was probably more free and, I am afraid, more licentious during that period than in any other age in China. Civil war and social revolution soon followed.

When the Sung (宋) dynasty had at last reunited the country under one government in 960, a strong reaction against the spirit of the preceding age set in and gradually developed into a new movement known as Li-hsüeh (理學.) Literally it means the study of philosophy, but in reality it was the cry, " back to ignorance." For all knowledge of real things was despised as unnecessary and foolish ; meditation, a practice borrowed from Buddhism, was considered as the only road to enlightenment. It was a scholasticism minus method ; a religion minus faith. Its crowning success was the dogmatization of Confucianism and its subsequent adoption as a state philosophy. Intellectual curiosity was carefully smothered, and literature degenerated into the meaningless and stereotyped form of composition imposed by the state examinations. This development came about at first very gradually, but the Mongolian conquest no doubt helped it materially by destroying the books and discouraging learning. From the middle of the 14th to the end of the 16th century this school held China with undisputed sway.

Towards the beginning of the 17th century, however, intelligent men began to become dissatisfied with the intellectual life of their time and to long for something more real and fruitful. Besides, they were tired of the prolonged eunuchs' misrule and frightened by the repeated Manchu invasions. Political dissatisfaction stimulated intellectual activity, and the spirit of inquiry, awakened from her prolonged sleep, was once more walking abroad. This great movement may be termed the Chinese

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renaissance, which began by textual criticism of the classics and ended in the introduction of western science and philosophy.

Into this era of doubt and unrest Hsü Hsia-k'o was born. Small wonder that we find him even at an early age deserting state examinations and an official career for the study of history and geography. To the latter subject he devoted himself with great skill and sustained enthusiasm. His family was apparently well-to-do, therefore he was able to procure all the books he wanted for his study. He attained considerable literary fame, and had for his friends many notable men of letters, among whom is the well-known poet, Ch'ên Mei-kung (陳 眉 公). His great friend was, however, the Fukienese statesman and scholar, Huang Tao-chou (黃 道 周) who afterwards died as a national martyr fighting against the Manchu invaders.

A few specimens of his poems have been preserved. Whilst they show the common defects of the poetry of his time, namely, the lack of spontaneity and freedom, they are faultless in form and elegant in expression. His father died when he was comparatively young, but his mother lived to a great age. He was married and had several children. In short, he was a cultivated gentleman of means, enjoying all the advantages of a refined home, congenial friendship, and unlimited leisure. In such an environment very few men would be inclined to attempt any work that involves physical hardship and foregoes home comfort. But with Hsü Hsia-k'o his untiring intellectual curiosity and his passionate love of mountain scenery were too strong to allow him to rest in his peaceful retreat, and he felt the imperative call of nature to go forth and learn her ways. His mother was unselfish enough not to discourage this desire of her son ; she only insisted that he must tell her where he intended to go before leaving home and never change his plan without letting her know, a precaution by no means unnecessary.

With the consent of his mother, therefore, he began to travel constantly from year to year.

In 1607, when he was barely 21 years old, he went to the T'ai-hu (太 湖) Lake and climbed all the hills there. Two years later T'ai-shan (泰 山) and the home of Confucius were visited. In 1613 he went to P'u-t'o (普 陀) Island by sea and thence to the mountains of T'ien-t'ai (天 台) and Yen-tang (雁 宕) on the mainland. In 1616 he was in Anhui (安 徽), wandering over Pei-yo (白 岳) and Huang-shan (黃 山), both high ranges on the Chekiang-Anhui border. Even in these early journeys, Hsü Hsia-k'o showed his remarkable power of endurance, for he went there in the depth of winter and had to brave a snowstorm, which,

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however, did not spoil his trip as he was delighted with the snow scenery. To these mountains and to T'ien-t'ai and Yen-tang he returned many years later and was able to make more extensive climbs in better weather. He was four times in Fukien (福建). The first journey was in 1616 to the well-known mountain of Wu-yi (武夷) in north-western Fukien. The second was in 1620 to the Chiu-li-hu lake and the waterfalls in the district of Hsing-hua in the S.E. part of the province. The other two visits were to Chang-chow (漳州), where one of his uncles held an official appointment. In 1623 he undertook a much longer journey. Going to Honan (河南) overland he arrived at Chêng-chow (鄭州) in nineteen days and then spent several nights at the Sung-shan (嵩山), the second sacred mountain visited, and went to Shensi (陝西) by way of Yi-ch'üeh (伊闕), popularly known as Lung-mên (龍門). There he ascended the third sacred mountain, the T'ai-hua-shan (太華山), and descended south by one of the eastern passes and finally reached Tan-chiang (丹江). Instead of coming down the river all the way he stopped at Chün-chow (均州) to visit the T'ai-ho (太和) or Wu-tang-shang (武當山), famous to all Taoists. He made the interesting observation that the Sung-shan was absolutely barren right to the summit; the T'ai-hua-shan was forested only in the upper region; but the entire Wu-tang-shan was covered with beautiful trees. He rightly attributed this partly to the different activity of the temples, partly to the nature of the slope and soil.

Soon after the last journey his mother died, and her death allowed him to wander henceforth with greater freedom; but before he started on his great expedition to south-western China, he went once more northward, and in the summer of 1633 visited successively the Wu-t'ai (五台) and the Héng-shan (恆山), both in northern Shansi. Thus after having seen four sacred mountains out of five and most of the famous ranges in S.E. and central China, he at length began his last and most extensive journey, which lasted nearly four years, entailed terrible hardships, resulted in important discoveries, and finally cost his life.

Let us follow him step by step on his self-appointed task. His original plan was to go to Yünnan (雲南) whence to Tibet and come back by way of Szechuan (四川). Instead of going to the first-named province by the usual route—the only route in his time—across Hunan (湖南) and Kweichow (貴州), he deliberately chose a round-about way so as to include in his journey the main mountains that divide the waters of Hsi-kiang (西江) from those of the Yangtze valley. On the 19th of the 9th moon in the year 1636 when he was already 51 years old, he set out

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with a servant and a Buddhist monk as companion. The latter wanted to deposit in the temples of Chi-tsu-shan (雞足山) near Talifu (大理府) the Sūtra which he had copied in his own blood, a form of devotion fairly common in those days. They went up the Ch'ien-t'ang River (錢塘) until they came to Kiangsi (江西) where they struck southward to Lung-hu-shan (龍虎山) the mountain of Dragon and Tiger, and further south to the Fukien frontier. Turning westward they zigzagged their way across the longitudinal valleys of Kiangsi until they reached the district of Yung-hsin (永新). Instead of going down to Hunan by boat, Hsu Hsia-k'o left his companion and went alone northward on the eve of Chinese New Year to the Wu-kung-shan (武功山), one of the parallel ranges in southern China which culminates in a series of peaks over 4,000 feet above the sea. Joining his companion further east, they wandered through the hills of T'u-ling (茶陵) and Yu-hsien (攸縣) and slowly approached Hêng-shan (衡山) where they ascended the Nan-yo (南岳). Thus he was one of the few Chinese who have had the good fortune to see all the five sacred mountains. Once more he made a circular tour alone in southern Hunan, exploring the Chiu-yi-shan (九疑山) before he joined his Buddhist friend to go to Kwangsi (廣西). In that province he travelled nearly 1,000 miles, exploring all the five branches of the Hsi-kiang. He went southwest near the Tonkin frontier, trying to get into S.E. Yünnan, but was turned back by the threatened Annamite raid, and had to change his route by going northward from Nan-ning (南寧) in order to reach Kwei-yang (貴陽) by way of Nan-tan (南丹) and Tu-shan (獨山), a route that is little known even to-day. He had now no other companion than his servant, because the monk died in Nan-ning in the autumn of 1637. Hsü Hsia-k'o was away from the city, but when he heard on his return that his friend expressed the last wish to be buried with his Sūtra at Chi-tsu-shan, he decided to carry out this dying request at all cost, and henceforth carried with him the ashes of his friend for 360 days through all sorts of difficulties until he finally deposited them at the mountain in question with befitting ceremony. Personal loyalty is no doubt a characteristic firmly linked up with the eager search for truth and passionate love of nature.

His stay in Kweichow was quite short, as he travelled soon afterwards by the usual route to Yünnan. The eastern part of the last province was thoroughly explored. From Chan-yi chow (湔昌州) and Ch'ü-ching-fu (曲靖府) he followed the river to Lin-an-fu (臨安府) and Shih-p'ing-chow (石屏州), coming back to Ch'ü-ching by way of Kwangsi-chow (廣西州), Shih-

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chung (師宗) and Lo-p'ing (羅平). Yünnanfu was reached in the autumn of 1638. After a short stay he left for Wu-ting (武定) and Yüan-mo (元謀) to visit the Gold Sand River whence he travelled to Chi-tsu-shan via Ta-yao (大姚) and Yao-an (姚安). In the spring of 1639 he was in Li-kiang (麗江) intending to go into Tibet, but the Moso chief, although quite friendly, warned him that he was practically at war with the Tibetans. He then turned back southward to Talifu, crossed the Mekong (瀾滄江) to Yung-ch'ang (永昌) and Têng-yüeh (騰越) to get into Burmese territory. This attempt was also a failure, but he was able to explore the country west the Salween (怒江) and to go south-east to Yün-chow (雲州) in the lower course, of Mekong. He returned to Chi-tsu-shan in the autumn of the same year, after which his diary is missing. Some of his biographers said he actually went into Tibet, hurt his foot, and spent three months at Chi-tsu-shan to write the Records of that mountain, after the completion of which he became ill and travelled homeward for 150 days in a chair, a mode of locomotion he very seldom indulged in when he was well. But as they all agree that he reached home in the summer of 1640 and died a few months later, I think that it is impossible that Hsü Hsia-k'o could have been in Tibet.

This brief outline, I am afraid, gives you little idea of the terrible hardships he endured and the great courage and perseverance that must have been necessary to carry him through. When he set out he was well provided with money, but on the Hsiang (湘) River he was attacked by pirates and lost all he had, narrowly escaping drowning. Through the patronage of Prince Kui (桂王) in Hêng-chow (衡州) he was enabled to proceed. In Kweichow he was twice robbed and was penniless on reaching Yünnan. He had the good fortune to meet a local man of letters, T'ang T'ai (唐泰) by name, who knew him by reputation and did all he could to help. When he was in Yung-ch'ang he lost his purse in one of the stiff climbs and had to endure many a hungry day and only saved himself by selling his outer garments. Getting thoroughly wet with little food and worse shelter was an everyday occurrence. Occasionally he was provided with a pony but most of the time he went on foot, and more than once he had to carry his own baggage. His servant finally deserted him on his second visit to Chi-tsu-shan. The desertion was discovered in good time and the monks proposed to send men after him, but with characteristic serenity, Hsü Hsia-k'o refused, saying that it was no use to force a man to stay against his will; although he was robbed again of all the money he had. The event, however,

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affected him deeply, as he could not understand how the servant had the heart to desert his master after spending three years together in a strange country 10,000 *li* from home. In defence of his servant I must say that as he was uninterested in geographical discoveries and did not appreciate scenic beauty, starvation must have been a merciless enemy against loyalty.

One may well ask, what was the reason that made Hsü Hsia-k'o desert his comfortable home in the Yangtze delta for the wildness of S.W. China at an age when most people would consider themselves to have earned their rest and be thinking about retreat? Great travellers we had not a few before his time. For example, there was Chang Ch'ien (張 騫) who went through Central Asia to Persia in the beginning of the Christian era. There was again Hsüan Chuang, Sir Aurel Stein's patron saint. But then Chang Ch'ien set out as an ambassador of the imperial court; he was serving the Grand Monarch in his great imperial programme. Hsüan Chuang again was a monk first and traveller afterwards, and was fired with great enthusiasm for the Buddhist faith. My patron saint was courting favour neither from emperor nor from God. He was not at all interested in politics, and, although a sincere Buddhist and well learned in the Sūtras, he did not go out as a pilgrim. Love of mountain scenery undoubtedly supplied a great deal of motive power, but then there was plenty of beautiful scenery in the near-by provinces which he had not yet visited. Why did he choose the S.W., especially Yünnan, as the place to spend the last years of his life? The explanation is supplied by his biographers, who all agree in saying that Hsü Hsia-k'o thoroughly *disbelieved in the theories of geomancy* and used to tell his friends that most of the things written on the Chiang (江) and the Ho (河) and the mountain ranges were either manufactured from imagination or copied from tradition. He desired to go to the least-known part of China, and, if possible, outside China, in order to see for himself the truth. There we have the explanation not only of his desire to travel, but also his choice of routes. He was essentially a *geographical explorer*. This spirit of enquiry is so startlingly modern that it alone would have ranked him as the earliest leader of modern geography in China.

His claim to greatness is, however, resting on even more solid ground. He left a voluminous diary written day by day on this journey describing all his observations in detail. The travels previous to his great expedition to the S.W. were less detailed, and as a rule only the temples and their immediately surrounding mountains were treated, but on his last trip the diary

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contains everything that we may want to know. Thus, only 150 days were recorded for the former journeys with about 40,000 words written down, whilst we have records of about 700 days out of 1,000 amounting to nearly 450,000 words, thus averaging 650 words per day. Even this gives you only an imperfect idea of his industry, for the 700 days include many in which only a few sentences were written; in fact, when he was exploring a new region the diary averages nearly 2,000 words a day, and, exceptionally, it may reach 4,000. Only those who have travelled for long periods of time in regions where physical comfort was out of question, can appreciate the magnitude of the task. In such a case the energy required even to overcome the inertia is considerable, not to say to write such wonderful composition. How very detailed and painstaking the diary really is, you can judge from the following translation of a passage picked up at random :—

"Going out of the southern gate [he was leaving Hsün-ning (順寧)], I followed the main road southwards for 2 *li* until I came to a village with houses on each side of the road where I turned to take the east branch, going through a flat basin southward with the road to Sha-ho (沙河) on the west. After 5 *li* crossed the Shên-ch'i 神溪 bridge, to the south of which is a group of houses. That is the village of Chu-ko-ying (諸葛營) where is also a temple of Chu-ko (諸葛), rather small and facing east. Further on is a temple of Tung-yo (東岳) much larger and also facing east. Another 5 *li* in the same direction is the village of Ta-shu-tun (大樹屯) with a number of houses. A small stream flows south-east from the north of the village whilst another small stream comes from the south, flowing north-east so that the two streams unite just east of the village forming the river of O-ssu-wo (臥獅窩). Another 3 *li* south a river flows from west to east at the foot of the southern hill. That is the river of Ao-tzŭ-p'u (坳子舖). Crossing the small stone bridge on this river I begin to ascend the southern slope where the road divides into 3 branches: one going south-east to the foot of a high mountain; one south-west to Shih-tien (石甸) and Yao-kuan (姚關); and the other directly east to Yang-yi (養邑)."

This reads more like a 20th-century surveyor's field note-book rather than the diary of a 17th-century traveller. I think I can say with confidence that no topographical observations were ever written down so clearly and in such detail before the 19th century. So Hsü Hsia-k'o was at least 200 years in advance of his time. We must also remember that he had no instruments of

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any kind, not even a compass. Nor had he a pencil and note-book to write anything down as he went, but had to wait until the evening or some halting-place during the day before he could unburden his memory of the distances and directions. Of the accuracy of his record there can be no question, as one can follow him with ease on a modern map, or a rough map may even be plotted from his descriptions. I have done both in eastern Yünnan and found his accounts astonishingly exact.

You may perhaps say that this kind of diary must be dull reading, but any one who is familiar with similar modern works, say Sven Hedin's *Ein Routenaufnahme durch Persien*, will not imagine that modern geographical literature is all interesting reading material. Besides, Hsü Hsia-k'o's diary is an unedited field note-book, for it was published exactly as he wrote them down the first time, since he had no chance to work it over before his death. But besides the details of topography and route, there are innumerable beautiful passages describing what he saw, and it was these that have helped to save his diary from oblivion because people always regarded it as a *tour-de-force* in literature and printed it as a model for composition. I think, however, that it will live as a scientific document rather than as a piece of classical literature.

There is nothing so admirable as his firm grasp of topographical form. In the table of contents of the Records of Chi-tsu-shan which he wrote for the Moso chief of Li-kiang in order to earn the necessary travelling expenses to get home, we find in chapters I and II remarkable evidence of the scientific turn of his mind. Chapter I is called the "Outline of Fundamental Form" (眞形統彙) consisting of the names of mountains, the ranges of mountains, the forms of mountains and the boundaries of mountains, etc. The second chapter is termed the "Classification of Scenery" (名勝分標), which is divided into: peaks (峯), cliffs (巖), grottoes (洞), plateaux (台), rock (projections) (石), passes (嶺), staircases (梯), valleys (谷), gorges (峽), ravines (脊), basins (坪), forests (林), springs (泉), waterfalls (瀑), pools (潭), streams (澗), and hot springs (溫泉). It is this wonderful power of analysing topographical details that enables him to adhere to a strict system of geographical terminology which it will pay modern Chinese geographers to study. Again, none of the vague stock-phrases such as a 1,000-ft. cliff or a boundless expanse of water, so common on Chinese literature, ever enter into his diary. Everything is specifically observed and carefully noted in feet or *li*.

Of the numerous interesting observations there are two geological facts which I should like to mention. As everyone

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knows, the mountains in S.W. China, especially those of Kwangsi. often consist of conical peaks with small enclosed basins between, practically without surface drainage, as the rivers flow underground. This is technically known as karsts, due to the solubility and the horizontal position of the limestone beds. To this we have numerous references in his diary, but the following quotation must suffice:—

"The hills of Kwangsi consist sometimes entirely of rock, sometimes with earthy layers between, but they are isolated, and form individual peaks quite distinct from each other. Those of Yünnan have a more earthy aspect with only occasional rocky projections, and as a rule they form continuous ridges enclosing basins. The hills of Kweichow are intermediate between the two. Because of the more earthy nature of the mountains, the Yünnan rivers are muddy, and with alluvial deposits near the lakes. On the other hand the rockiness of the mountains of Kwangsi keeps the streams clear which often flow underground in grottoes. The rivers of Kweichow are also intermediate." When he saw more of S.E. Yünnan, however, this view was somewhat modified. Speaking of the mountains of Lo-p'ing, he says, "The mountains of Lo-chuang (羅 莊) are very rugged, and further east isolated peaks are seen, lined one after another, reminding me of the scenery of Kwangsi. This strange forest of conical hills b gins here and continues north-eastwards for many thousand *li* till it reaches Tao-chow (道 州). It is the marvel of the S.W."

The ability of co-relating topographical forms with their geographical distribution is here evident.

In Yünnan true crystalline schists are rare. When I was there in 1914, I descended into Yüan-mo valley from the east where the red sandstone of Devonian age predominates. Going across the valley I was surprised to see typical mica schists cropping out in low hills bordering the north-south valley. I thought that I had made the first discovery, but to my astonishment I found that Hsü Hsia-ko had already noticed the occurrence 300 years ago. He was going from Yüan-mo to Ta-yao on the 6th of the 12th moon, 1639, and he noticed that on the slope of a waterless ravine in the western hills of Yüan-mo valley, the "rocks are shining like gold sand, brilliantly yellow in the sunlight like flakes of mica pressed together." Here in this case at least I can claim some spiritual communion with my patron saint.

So much then for his diary. But in order to do justice to my patron saint, I must, before I conclude, try to summarise the most important scientific results of his exploration. Out of

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the mass of geographical information three facts stand out to his credit.

First, the discovery of the true source of the Hsi-kiang or Canton River. In his time very little information about the upper branches was known. The only important source discovered was that of the P'an-kiang (盤江) which the imperial road from Kweichow to Yünnan had to pass. According to the geography of the Ming Empire (大明一統志), the P'an-kiang had two sources; the northern and the southern Pan, both of which took their rise in the mountains near Yi-tzŭ-k'ung (亦資孔) on the Yünnan-Kweichow border. Hsü Hsia-ko paid a special visit to that very mountain and found the two streams too small to be the true sources of the P'an-kiang. On his arrival at Chü-ching-fu, he was at once impressed by the far more important water supply of the river flowing near that city. After determining its head on the north of Chan-yi-chow, he went down the river to explore it thoroughly. He found it navigable as far as Yüeh-chow (越州), and then in order to avoid a rapid had to travel 15 *li* by land before getting into the boat again to reach Lu-liang (陸涼). All the way from Chü-ching every tributary was noted and described. He heard, however, that further south there was an important branch from Shih-p'ing-chow. He at once went there to study it. He discovered that the source took rise at Kuan-k'ou (關口) 40 *li* west of Shih-p'ing. After following its course in detail, he found that it joined the river from Chüching north-east of A-mi-chow (阿迷州). On he went to Kwangsi-chow, but the local people failed to supply him with any definite information with regard to its destination further east. He, therefore, followed it from there to Shih-chung and Lo-p'ing as far as its confluence with the river Kiang-ti (江底). He also recognized correctly that the K'o-tu-ho (可渡河) was the real source of Pei-p'an-chiang (北盤江), but he made the mistake of supposing that the waters of Yang-ling (楊林), Hsün-tien (尋甸) and Sung-ming (嵩明) gathered to unite with the K'o-tu-ho, in spite of the fact that he was told by the natives that these rivers went into the Niu-lan-chiang (牛欄江). Another mistake was that he erroneously thought that the Nan-p'an-chiang (南盤江) was the upper portion of the river of Paisê (白色). These mistakes are, however, all reasonable guesses, and not faulty observations.

The second great discovery he made in Yünnan is his clear conception of the Mekong and the Salween as separate rivers, Both in the Imperial Geography and in the Records of the prefecture of Hsün-ning, the Mekong and Salween were supposed to

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unite somewhere below Yün-chow. When he was on the Salween, he noticed that the amount of water and the width of the river were very similar to those of the Mekong. He further remembered that the Salween was also called the Gold Sand River (金沙江) by the Shans and was one of the four sacred rivers of the Shan Empire. He argued that in order to deserve such an honour it must have a separate outlet to the sea. To test his theory he went to Hsün-ning and further on to Yün-chow. It was there that he ran short of funds and accidentally lost the little money he had. Partly by enduring starvation, partly by selling his superfluous clothing, and partly by begging, he struggled on. The first thing he noticed was that the K'u-k'o-ho or Hsün-ning river instead of flowing into the Mekong as was said in the district records, emptied itself into the Salween. Then he met a lame traveller who explained to him that not only the Salween had a separate outlet to the sea, but also the Mekong which was said by the Imperial Geographers to unite with the Red River (紅河). He found this account so detailed and definite that he was convinced of its truth, but he did not turn back until he found the statement absolutely confirmed by several Chinese merchants in Yün-chow.

The last and perhaps the most important result is the recognition of the Gold Sand River (金沙江) as the true source of the Yangtze. He wrote an elaborate essay on the subject which unfortunately is lost, and only an extract has been preserved in the district records of his native city. It is so clearly written that I think it better to translate it somewhat more fully :

"The Chiang and the Ho are the two principal rivers ; one in the north, the other in the south. My district happened to be situated near to the latter's entrance into the sea ; hence the name Chiang-yin. Those who are born and brought up there realize the greatness of the Chiang but not its length. Its source has always been supposed to be the Min-chiang (岷江).—The explorers of the Ho agree that it rises in the mountains north of Kuenlun (崑崙). It must be ten thousand *li* from the Min. How is it that the Chiang has a so much shorter course ? Is it because the Ho is much larger than the Chiang ? When I saw the Ho for the first time, its width was only one-third that of Chiang ! Is it possible that the larger Chiang has a smaller drainage ? After I had travelled in the north, the south and the west, beyond Shih-mên (石門) and Gold Sand River, I then realized that the Ho drains only five provinces, whilst the Chiangs drains eleven*. No wonder the Chiang is larger. Let us study

*Only 10 provinces can be said to contribute to the Yangtze.

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their source. The Ho begins in the north of Kuenlun, the Chiang in its south, and the two rivers are practically equal in length. The northern Ho flows northward; after passing Chi-shih (積石), it begins to turn east to enter Ning-hsia (寧夏) and the Ordos (河套); then it turns south to Lung-mên (龍門) and finally joins the Wei (渭). The southern Chiang at first is known as Li-niu-shih, flowing southward, and passing the Shih-mên-kuan (石門關), it begins to turn east at Li-kiang to become the Gold Sand River. It turns again in the northern direction and joins the Min-kiang at Hsü-chow (敘州) to become the Ta-kiang (大江). Now the Min-kiang passing Ch'êng-tu (成都) to Hsü-chow is hardly 1,000 *li* long, whilst the Gold Sand River, passing through Li-kiang, Shih-mên, Yünnan, Wu-mêng (烏蒙) (Tung-ch'uan 東川) to Hsü-chow is at least 2,000 *li*. Why regard the shorter one as the source of the Chiang ?—Besides, south of Min there is another river the Ta-tu-ho (大渡河), coming down from Tibet, and joining the Min to the north-west of Gold Sand River. Its source is also longer than the Min but not so long as the Gold Sand River hence the last alone must be regarded as the true source of the Chiang . . ."

This was written at least 100 years before the Jesuit fathers made their map of China by order of K'anghsi. Yet European writers of the 19th century confidently declared that the Chinese never knew that the Gold Sand River was the true upper Yangtze!

Now it is time for you to form an opinion of my patron saint. His biographers said that on his death bed Hsü Hsia-ko told his friends that before him there were three great travellers, namely, Chang Ch'ien of Han (漢), Hsüan Chuang of T'ang and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (耶律楚材) of Yüan (元). But all of them enjoyed government support and were more or less on official missions. He was the only private individual who had the good fortune to see so much of the world, therefore he died quite contented. Whether he actually said so or not we do not know, but I think this would be a very just estimate of himself. I only want to add that he was not only the only private traveller but was also the only scientific geographer. The *zeitgeist* of renaissance was in him when he braved physical discomfort to the point of starvation for the sake of pure knowledge and intellectual satisfaction.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHINESE GROUP-ACTION

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,

H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED).

Most foreigners in China have probably noticed, without understanding it, the tendency of the Chinese to act not singly but in groups. On entering a shop in a Chinese city the Westerner finds, often to his annoyance (if he is a new arrival in China), that all the employees in the room will come and look at him and "assist" (in the French sense of the word) those who are waiting on him; though his wants may be attended to by one or two only, the rest of the group take part in the conversation, leaving the business on which they were engaged to devote their attention to him until he leaves the establishment. That this tendency no longer exists or is decreasing in many modernized towns does not alter the fact that generally the tendency is towards group rather than individual action. Only the other day I counted no less than eighteen employees in a Chinese bank who "concentrated" on the simple cashing of an ordinary cheque, and half of them came out of the door to see me off! The difference between the two sets of ideas may be seen by contrasting this group-action with the custom in a Western bank, where the eighteen are more likely to be outside than inside the counter and waiting more or less—generally less—patiently for the attention of one overworked clerk inside it!

Other instances of Chinese group-action are the following. A guest at an hotel when taking a meal, especially if alone, will often notice that the Chinese "boy," or attendant, will stand as close to his elbow as possible and watch each mouthful as he

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conveys it to his mouth, much in the same way that visitors to a zoological garden watch the animals being fed. The accessory implements on the table, such as cruet-stand, small vases, etc., will be placed in a group touching each other rather than standing apart individually as is usual in Western countries. If separated, these implements will often be pushed together so as to touch each other by a native, who also prefers pictures or scrolls not to be hung on the wall with spaces between them and chairs to be placed close up alongside tables. At a Chinese feast, as at an ordinary Chinese meal, all dip out of one dish, and should, according to the strict rules of etiquette, eat simultaneously and drink simultaneously. The habit of making at the same time, usually all together, a hissing noise with the mouth as soup or other liquids are taken, vulgar to Western minds, though decreasing, still exists. There still exists also the custom of shouting out the order for the next course to a whole string of servants, who pass on the shout until it reaches the cook in the kitchen. The fact is that this wealthy or important personage has finished one course and is ready for the next, the publication of the fact in the manner described being an Oriental form of ostentation sufficiently repulsive to upset a Western stomach. At a banquet it is customary to pay money to the servants, coachmen, ricksha-pullers, etc., of the guests or to give them food, thus allowing them in so far to be partakers with the feasting group.

It is also quite proper for servants to join occasionally in the conversation at meals and banquets, and for servants generally to give advice to their masters.

Contracts, whether of betrothal, marriage, lease, or other, are in China not made as with us between two parties who sue for breach in a court of law, but require a group of three, namely, the offerer, the acceptor, and the guarantor. For example, the rent of a house is guaranteed by some shop, firm, or bank, to whom the lessor applies on default being made by the lessee. Marriages are still arranged by "middlemen," or "go-betweens," though "young China" has "gone one better" than the West in that not only do the Lotharios and Dulcineas arrange their own matches, but the latter on occasion even propose to the former! Until recently, also, married couples often lived after marriage in the house of the bridegroom's parents, as they still do in many cases, instead of setting up separate establishments. The emperor, under the Monarchy, had to make love to his wife or concubines in the presence of at least one eunuch, a custom which to a Western mind would certainly have endangered the hope of a successor! Concubinage itself is more of a group than is monogamy. The

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jus primae noctis, which once existed in parts of China, also indicates a group rather than an individual system. In China the clan or family is the unit, not the individual, and this gives rise to the law of revenge on any member of a murderer's family, and also to the punishment of a whole family for a crime committed by a single member of it, as well as to the occasional substitution of another member for the actual criminal. The nation itself is a group of heterogeneous provinces rather than one united homogeneous mass. Want of differentiation caused until recently the offices of head of the national executive, of high priest, master of ceremonies, and military commander-in-chief to be grouped together and represented in the one person of the emperor. Officials and their parasites in the old yamêns who constituted those over-staffed institutions, making a group far greater than was necessary for the discharge of the duties attaching thereto, are also examples of the same tendency. A similar grouping is found in the professions, where the functions of priest and physician, judge and lawyer, poet and singer, dancer and musician, actor and dramatist, architect and builder, etc., were and still often are found combined in one person. Policemen on their beats were usually in pairs, not single, as were also junks when on fishing or trading expeditions. Increasing division of labour caused the grouping apart of male from female labour, the specialization of trades, sub-groups in each trade, localization of trades in separate districts and in towns in separate streets. Such groups as guilds, trade unions, clubs, thrift and philanthropic societies, literary associations, etc., need not be more than mentioned. In some cases, such as self-mutilation, we find the idea of association so strong that a son, for example, will cut off a finger, hand, etc., in order to cure his sick mother, the idea being that the injury to himself will result in a corresponding benefit to her. Funeral rites indicate clearly the grouping, in Chinese ideas, of this life with the next, and this is shown in the similarity of the two, as well as in the making of deities from human beings, male and female (animal, plant, and other worships have a human origin).

When deeply aggrieved, a Chinese will *han chich*, "yell the street"; in other words, when he or she considers great injustice has been done, or when petty annoyances have become intolerable, appeal is made to the group, *i.e.*, to all and sundry who come within earshot of the cry which he (though it is usually a she) takes care is no whisper, in fact, it can often be heard the whole length of the street. Ricksha coolies and cartmen — notorious extortioners — readily appeal to bystanders, making their griev-

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ance known as loudly, and consequently as widely, as possible, and in a street or other fight the intervention of a third party as peacemaker is quite orthodox. When a Chinese hands an article to another he almost always holds on to it longer than is necessary for its safe passage from the one individual to the other. If a foreigner walks up and down his compound for exercise the servants will often come out and stand in a group watching him, partly out of interest in a person who exerts himself when he might be sitting still, and partly with the idea of protection and respect. They show the group instinct of certain types of social aggregates, shown also in grown-up men holding each other's hands as they walk along the street, just as school boys and more often school girls do in the West. A group of coolies, called upon to start work, will either stand still or all move in a body, individuals showing reluctance to take the initiative. School children shout their lessons all at the same time. Scholars will often unite their libraries for joint use. Even the leaves of Chinese books are double, and the small volumes (*pên*) divided into groups by the covers (*t'ao*). A *mafu* will often follow a rider on foot, keeping up with him as well as he can, and in sports, such as foot-racing, etc., the Chinese idea is rather that though one win the prize it should be shared by the whole group, who have not exerted themselves for nothing! (These cases do not of course include those, such as modern college students, who have come under Western influence). A foreigner going out alone for a walk would frequently be followed, especially in the smaller or out-of-the-way places, such independence being regarded with suspicion. In the same way, the squeaking of wheelbarrows and carts, now less frequently heard than formerly, was not due to any mechanical defect but to the idea that silence implies suspicious conduct—"the non-squeaking cart is probably a robber cart," as a Chinese explained it to me once. It should, however, be added that the squeak had also a utilitarian result in giving notice, like the toot of a modern bicycle or motor car, of its advent in narrow roads and when passing round corners, but this was not the original cause of the squeak. Stone images outside, and *tui-tzŭ*, scrolls, inside houses, temples, etc., are, or should be, in pairs. Groups of lamps are often seen on rickshas, and retainers (sometimes as many as three on each side), generally armed, stand on the footboards of automobiles, partly for ostentation, partly for protection, but in either case forming, with the occupants and driver, a group. In the streets of cities, when a carriage is being driven round a corner, the footman jumps off, runs to the horse's head, and guides it round, the corner being thus negotiated by the group coachman-

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footman-horse instead of, as in Western countries, by the coachman and horse only. The Oriental, like Nature, abhors a vacuum, and will saw off the legs of a chest of drawers in order that it may rest flush upon the ground. In Hongkong, many years ago, a long series of rooms was built for the hill chair-coolies, so that each might have a separate apartment; but the inspector found that they preferred all to herd into one or two !*

Regarding all these facts in their *ensemble* we may say that group-action is the rule and individual-action the exception, isolation being almost if not quite as great a sin as poverty is in incompletely-civilized societies. Generally, an isolated person, without friends or relations, was regarded as one who might be killed with impunity.

If the above instances of group-action, and many others which might be named, are contrasted with the behaviour which would obtain under similar circumstances in the West, it will be obvious that the cause of psychological differences so widespread must be deep-rooted. In many cases the behaviour of East and West is not only different, but opposed. For instance, in civilized countries isolation or weakness is a cause of sympathy or help, not of callousness or open hostility. (On the Canton river I have seen sampans hurrying to the spot where a poor old woman selling firewood from a boat had been wrecked by the wash of a passing steamer, not to save her life, but to steal her firewood !). A Westerner would resent the want of individuality of mind shown by a reply being made on behalf of himself as a member of a group without his being consulted beforehand. He prefers to take his meals in peace and quiet without the progress thereof being shouted, if not from the housetop, at least down the stairs, and he feels more at ease if each mouthful is not closely watched. He dislikes any noisy hissing sound as an accompaniment to eating or drinking. He prefers to make his contracts directly with the other party without the intervention of guarantors or middlemen. The idea of punishing a whole family for a crime committed by one member of it is repulsive to his sense of justice. He keeps his other world or life (where he believes in it at all) at a remote distance from this one. If aggrieved, he does not "yell the street," but either keeps his grievance to himself or confides it to some sympathetic or helpful friend. To "yell the street" in London,

*A relative of the present writer, when on a hunting expedition in Central Africa, enquired of some native boys why they habitually avoided entering a certain part of the jungle. One of the group, without consulting the others, immediately replied: "We are afraid." Not *I am*, but *we are*, afraid.

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for example, would be to court board and lodging in Colney Hatch. His recreational walks are more comfortable and beneficial if unwatched by a group of onlookers. His school children say their lessons separately, not all simultaneously. He likes his bureaux to be raised off the ground by legs or rollers. He loathes the ostentation of superfluous retainers on automobile footboards, and in fact, if he is civilized, ostentation of any sort. And his ideas on social structures and functions are manifested in the early periods of his history by his differentiating the duties of king, high priest, commander-in-chief, and master of ceremonies, and entrusting them to separate individuals.

How can we reconcile ideas so divergent? How can we unify such opposite sets of behaviour? Is there any law running through them all which will furnish a clue to their interpretation?

In their wild state zebras, when attacked, immediately form a circular group of which their heads are the centre and their heels the circumference. Obviously, unless they put their heads together they would be open to attack on more sides than one: an isolated animal cannot kick in all directions simultaneously. This habit is found to be adopted by domesticated zebras when the danger is apparent only, as, for example, when a person bringing food is not recognized as a friend but is mistaken for an enemy.* If group-action thus serves a social end in aiding the group and its component individuals to repel attack, why do we find certain types of group-action discarded and certain types retained in the most advanced societies? Evidently the group-action adopted to ensure safety is discarded because in the most advanced societies attack is less frequent or less to be expected than in the more primitive ones. (By "advanced" is here meant those which have progressed far on the road to complete civilization). For instance, in the above-mentioned case of the one bank clerk and eighteen customers, reversion to group-action would take place where the customer was an anarchist or other like person bent on dynamiting the building or stealing the money. In this case the protection of the bank takes the place of the protection of the customer (an asset in times of peace): the group (now inside the counter) is created for self-protective purposes by what I may call social phagocytosis.

*English lawyers will be reminded of the custom at the Inns of Court dinners on "Grand Nights" when, as the loving-cup is passed round, those on either side of the drinker stand up in order to protect him from being stabbed while in the defenceless position of burying his nose in the huge tankard—a danger now imaginary though once real.

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We thus get a clue to a part-explanation of the kind of conduct we are here considering. But this is a part-explanation only, for we have still to explain the facts of survival and of the existence of those groups which are not for purposes of defence. Group-action takes place in societies subject to attack, and in certain cases survives in those which have been, but are no longer, so subject, whilst other groups cannot be ascribed to this cause. What are these cases ?

In early types of society the army is the nation mobilized and the nation at peace is the demobilized army. But in later stages external forces, such as hostile raids, cause groups of part only of the nation to come together. These groups are regiments, battalions, etc. What is that common characteristic which differentiates them from the rest of the community ? It is their similarity to one another, natural or acquired, in physique, dress, weapons, actions, ideas, etc.—a general uniformity holding more with regard to this military group than with regard to the heterogeneous mass out of which it has been formed. It is in this fact of uniformity that the solution of the problem is to be found.

In this fascinating but curious universe we see forces acting on matter causing constant redistributions, or rather, we find persisting force, under its forms of matter and motion, causing perpetual changes. One of these changes is the production of differences in what was before homogeneous and of definiteness in what was before indefinite. This change is aided by segregation, a process which separates like from unlike units and brings them together in a group. How is this accomplished ? It is accomplished by the action of forces on mixed units ; those forces tending, in proportion as the units are unlike to deposit them in different places. If the units are the same, they will be differently affected by different forces ; if the forces are the same, they will act differently on unlike units. A good example is furnished by the Chinese process of winnowing, seen at certain seasons on the threshing-floors of villages and occasionally in open spaces in cities. As the mixed units in the tray are thrown up into the wind the heavier ones, if the wind is uniform, fall almost vertically, the lighter ones are carried a short distance, and the still lighter ones a greater distance ; whereas, if the wind is not uniform, the resulting groups vary in proportion.

The forces which act on the diverse units constituting humanity as a whole, and divide it into tribes and nations, are chiefly physical, psychological, and sociological. The climate and food of some regions are injurious to inhabitants of other

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regions, causing them to die out or to group themselves elsewhere. Mental differences also produce segregated groups; for example, the small groups of foreigners herded in settlements and concessions marked off from the larger groups of surrounding Chinese. Class-segregations, also, are due to the same cause, the broad distinctions between those trained to brain work and those trained to manual labour show respective community of character in each, leading to those engaged in like occupations dwelling together where possible, and to the formation of unions, societies, and associations, representing a sifting-out and grouping of like with like. This process may be traced out in detail, until we come down to the petty cliques of narrow-minded suburban and village life, of foreign communities in Eastern and other countries, and of drunkards and mischief-makers at club bars.* That marked sign of ill-breeding known as "putting personal questions," which is regarded by the Chinese as an act of courtesy rather than the reverse, is also indicative of the less-developed type of group-idea in that it implies that personal particulars are the common property of others than those whom they chiefly concern. The parasitism or commensalism vulgarly known as "sucking up" to persons of wealth or position is also an example of the lower type of group-action. The effects of the forces of the sociological environment may be illustrated by the re-grouping of portions of national territory or colonial possessions after a war, or by the creation of patriotic and unpatriotic groups in China as the result of actual and threatened Japanese aggression.

Of the groups resulting from the physical, psychological, and sociological environments we may distinguish two main kinds: which we may describe generically as arising from militarism and industrialism respectively. They survive, with an exception presently to be named, in proportion as the environing conditions are maintained. Thus, in societies where there is chronic fear of attack, either in national, family, or individual life, the grouping appropriate to the military *régime* (defensive and destructive) will obtain and probably predominate; whereas in societies long subject to peaceful conditions, external and internal, the type of group will bear a sympathetic and constructive

*How pronounced this segregation may become is well illustrated by the caste system in India. Under that system, water touched by a non-Brahman offered to a thirsty Brahman would desecrate the latter's whole life, even retrospectively. It is further illustrated by the fact that in some parts of the United States of America, whose principal harbour is guarded by a gigantic statue of Liberty, an editor risks getting shot if he prints opinions which diverge from those of his group.

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character. The industrial or constructive is easily distinguished from the military type. Instances are agricultural and other co-operative groups which have supplanted the more primitive type under which the labourer had to make his own implements, etc., co-operation in production, distribution, exchange, the groups known as guilds, trade unions, etc. Sufficient illustration of the working of the two types is furnished by the different attitudes adopted by members of communities living under the *régime* of status and those living under the *régime* of contract—in the former the working part of the community exists for the benefit of the fighting part, in the latter the fighting part exists mainly for the benefit of the working part. In these two lies the whole difference between compulsory and voluntary co-operation—between slavery and liberty.

China, in its earliest historical times, was affected by these various forces, which divided it first into feudal groups. Subject later to forces of a centripetal kind, these feudal groups, or states, became welded into one large state, or monarchy, the environing conditions necessitating, however, the sub-division of this into provinces, districts, etc.; but the ideas appropriate to the earlier feudal state survived in innumerable cases, and may be traced through the monarchical period down to the present day.

Feudalism is the child of war. Hence those groups resulting from the feudalistic *régime* bear a character appertaining to predatory, destructive, defensive, or non-progressive phases of human evolution. The survival of feudalistic ideas (which predominated during half the duration of Chinese history: 2357-221 B.C.) into and through the monarchical period explains the character of most of the groups existing in recent and present times. They largely bear a defensive character. However much it may be losing, or in some cases have lost, its original meaning, the group of attendants which gathers round a customer in a Chinese shop is not the result of the herding instinct, but is for purposes of protection and defence.* To this same motive—in some cases more conspicuous, in others less—may be ascribed most of the other groupings or group-ideas commonly seen or manifested, such as "howling the street," feeding ricksha coolies who bring guests to banquets, middlemen and go-betweens, living in clans, punishing a criminal's relatives, policemen, junks,

*In order to avoid misunderstanding it should be added that generally in military communities or in times of warfare the grouping would be egoistical: defensive protection of the group; whilst in industrial communities or in times of peace it would be ego-altruistical: protection of one who may benefit the group.

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etc., parading in pairs, the dread of isolation, etc. This type of group has existed alongside of the industrial type, and has been greater or smaller than it in proportion as the society has been predominantly militant or predominantly industrial. But it does not, of course, follow that because a nation has advanced a long way on the road to civilization all its groupings are of the industrial, constructive order. Anarchists, nihilists, Bolsheviks, irreconcilables, destructionists, belong to the lower type which, as civilization progresses, must die out or be eliminated by the community in self-defence. The reduction of society to its primitive elements in order that it may be rebuilt "nearer to the heart's desire," might—apart from the untenable doctrine that the innocent must suffer with the guilty for the sake of "the cause"—be a proposition worth considering were there any reasonable probability of the ideal society growing out of the ashes—of the new development taking the course its promoters predict.

Before concluding, we must briefly notice the cases in which group-actions and group-ideas survive when the conditions which were their *raison d'être* no longer exist. Why should Chinese bank clerks imply by their conduct—unconsciously perhaps, but still imply—that a man engaged in so industrial or peaceful an act as cashing a cheque is in danger of his life, or why should English lawyers make a like implication when they pass round the "loving-cup" during the unmilitant occupation of dining together? It is not enough (though true) to say that "custom dies hard." To get a satisfactory explanation we may observe the analogies in the physiological world, where such useless things as tail-stumps in man, appendices, little toes (useful now only for the practically obsolete purpose of grasping with the feet), etc., survive though the conditions warranting their existence have ceased to be. Obviously, though superfluous, they are in most cases either harmless or not positively injurious; and in those cases where, as in that of the appendix, they may be, and often are, so dangerous as to imperil the life of the organism, their wholesale removal would entail greater injury than their continued existence: it is better, on the whole, to let evolution deal with them in her slow, but sure, way.*

* Examples of parts which *have* disappeared where no longer required are the two strong cords running along the top of the neck supporting the head in animals which walk on all fours (without which the head would drop onto the knees), extinct in those animals (including man) which walk on their hind legs only, but quite conspicuous in the elephant; the transparent eye-covering which protects (from twigs, etc., in a forest) the eyes of birds in rapid flight, and which enables eagles to gaze at the sun without being dazzled; the gizzard in toothless creatures; the water-bag in the camel; a large proportion of the four thousand muscles of small insects; etc.

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In those societies which are progressing toward complete civilization, the former (militant) type of group-action must, as already stated, tend to die out and be replaced more and more by the latter (industrial) type. In those societies which are decadent we may expect to see increasing reversion to the former type. If all societies eventually reach complete civilization, we may look for the elimination not only of segregation for defensive and destructive purposes, but also for the reduction to a minimum of segregation for mutual aid, as mutual aid becomes less necessary and each individual is able to attain his ends by his own bodily and mental exertions. The latter type will, of course, never die out completely, at least until human societies cease to be, because it is for mutual aid and constructive purposes that it exists, but as societies moving rhythmically along the road to civilization, now up now down, are apt to drift into Socialism, under which form of *régime* there is too much regulation and too much dependence—too much group-action, in fact—so, when they recover from that state and, returning to the great white road of civilization, make progress toward Individualism, will there be more self-reliance and less dependence upon others—less group-action. As in the human body there must be a properly-proportioned adjustment of functions in order that the life may be carried on from moment to moment, any over-tax of an individual organ or group of organs throwing the machine out of balance and, if persisted in, threatening its destruction, so in the ideal civilized state group-action and individual-action will be properly proportioned. But, taken as a whole, those societies will have advanced farthest, and be more likely to become completely civilized, in which individual-action predominates. As compared with individuals, groups do not reason, are mentally inferior, irritable, impulsive, mobile, credulous, ingenuous, apt to exaggerate, intolerant, dictatorial, conservative, immoral.*

The group-action now seen in China is thus the outcome of that Force which permeates all matter acting on certain units in certain conditions. Had the units or the conditions been different, the groupings would either have been different or

* For example, the group which crucified Christ possessed all these qualities. It was the individual, Pilate, not the raucous group, who asked: "Why, what evil hath He done?" Note, also, the group-answer to that question.

[While I am revising this paper for the press my eye falls on the following sentence in *The Lizard God:* "I wanted them to quit their damned foolishness and tried to explain, but it was no use. You can't teach a mob to have sense." Also this, in this morning's paper: "Mob opinion is invariably ill-informed."]

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non-existent. The Westerner who thinks that everyone in the countries he goes to should act as he does, though possessing different ideas and living under different conditions, is, though his ignorance conceals the fact, often doing himself harm and the people among whom he lives no good. The universe does not exist merely in order that traders may make money. It existed long before they came into being, and will exist long after they are dead. The white man who goes to the country of the yellow or black man is generally impatient and often angry because the latter acts and thinks differently from what he does. But his impatience or anger should be curbed by the thought that these seemingly incongruous beings are the agents of that unknown Energy which acts on him as well as on them, but acts differently because their physical, psychological, and sociological environments are different. Had he been autochthonous to those conditions he would have clung as tenaciously as they do to the type of conduct which now repels him. The attitude of the Westerner is all the more unreasonable in view of the fact that, as I will endeavour to demonstrate in another paper, the Western nations are now leading China not toward, but away from, true civilization. In moving about among these people it is the part of wisdom and the duty of the civilized to learn from them how to suppress that impatience and often thoughtless action which has been the cause of so much misunderstanding, blundering injustice. Rather than give vent to his feelings the white man would do well to imitate the Chinese in this respect at least, namely, that the latter was always a gentleman, even in the trying circumstances of feeling the unpleasant effects of the semi-group action of having his queue pulled by the gamins of a London street, though unfortunately he has of late years been losing that admirable quality in proportion as he has come in contact with the more brutal manners of the West. Instead of endeavouring to attain his ends, whether right or wrong, by brute force he should use his superfluous energy in endeavouring to substitute the constructive for the destructive type of group-action as a step towards the promotion of individual as contrasted with group-action, for it is through Individualism, and not through any such groupings as Communism or Socialism, that we may hope for the salvation of mankind.

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LE PÈRE LAZARE CATTANEO*

Le Fondateur de la Chrétienté de Chang-haï

De la noble et ancienne famille des Cattaneo, le P. Lazare naquit à Sazzano, près de Gênes. Dès son entrée dans la Compagnie, il sollicita avec ardeur les Missions d'Outre-Mer et les obtint du P. Général en 1588. D'après un catalogue de 1622, il avait étudié les belles-lettres pendant un an, trois ans la philosophie, deux ans la théologie, qu'il acheva en son particulier. Après quelque temps passé à Goa comme ministre du collège, et deux ans sur la côte de la Pêcherie, qu'il gouverna comme supérieur, il fut mandé à Macao, où on l'appliqua à l'étude du chinois.

Le P. de Petris étant mort, et le P. Ricci restant seul à Chao-tcheou, le P. Cattaneo lui fut donné pour compagnon. Il gouverna cette église après le premier départ du P. Mathieu pour Nankin, et eut la douleur de la voir pillée et saccagée par une troupe de furieux. Bientôt son supérieur l'appela près de lui pour l'accompagner à Pèkin, et, pendant la route, il aida le P. Ricci à composer son dictionnaire tonique. Ce fut lui, avec le P. Ricci, et non le P. de Pantoja, comme le dit M. Perny dans sa *Grammaire chinoise*, qui, le premier de tous les Européens, imagina de représenter les cinq tons ordinaires de la langue chinoise par les notations encore en usage aujourd'hui, du moins très

* Né en 1566, entré dans la Compagnie en 1581, arrivé dans la mission en 1594, il meurt le 19 janvier 1640; il est enterré à Hang-tcheou.

N.B.—Ouvrages principaux cités dans cette notice: Bartoli, *Cina*, Rome, 1660, p. 450, 1141.—Couplet, *Catalogus patrum L. I... in Sinis*, Dilingen, 1687.—Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, t. III, Paris, 1745.—Du Jarric, *Histoire des Indes*, Bordeaux, 1608, t. III, chap. LIV.—Semedo, *Histoire de la Chine*, Lyon, 1667, p. 262, 282, 336.—Trigault, *Expédition chrestienne en Chine*, Lyon, 1616, p. 538, 641, 914, 1014.—*Relations* de 1621 et 1622.

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communément. "Ils instituèrent donc cinq virgules ou marques d'accents par lesquels les Nostres peussent entendre comme il falloit prononcer chaque mot : car ils remarquèrent qu'il y avoit autant de diversité d'accents." * De retour à Nankin, il fut envoyé à Macao pour informer les Supérieurs majeurs de ce premier voyage. Il en revint incontinent avec le P. Jacques de Pantoja ; et quand le P. Ricci s'éloigna pour la dernière fois de la capitale du Sud, il laissa le soin de cette chrétienté au P. Lazare, qui surveillait également celles de Nan-tchang et de Chao-tcheou.

En 1604, le P. Lazare se rendit de nouveau à Macao avec le P. Emmanuel Diaz (senior) qui revenait de Pékin ; tous deux étaient appelés par le P. Visiteur Valignani. Il y resta pour rétablir sa santé, et en même temps pour prendre soin des intérêts de la Mission. Le P. Visiteur l'avait déjà choisi pour son socius, mais la mort du P. Valignani empêcha le P. Cattaneo de quitter Macao. Ce fut vers cette époque qu'il visita le Collège et la Mission de Malacca.

Cependant, un orage terrible allait éclater sur sa tête et menacer toute la colonie de Macao. Les Hollandais, jaloux des glorieuses expéditions des Portugais dans les Indes, envoyaient de hardis forbans porter la désolation dans les îles de la Sonde et dans les Moluques. Peu contents de ces riches pillages, ils tentèrent de s'emparer de Formose et jetèrent des yeux de convoitise sur Macao. Les Portugais songeaient à se fortifier, mais les Chinois, toujours soupçonneux, prirent l'alarme. Ils prétendirent que ces étrangers avaient comploté de s'emparer de la Chine ; déjà, disait-on, ils avaient élevé plusieurs citadelles, ramassé dans les provinces des troupes, qui n'attendaient plus que le dernier signal. Le P. Cattaneo était désigné pour être empereur.†

D'autre part, quelques mauvais chrétiens de Macao, pour se venger des Pères qui n'avaient pas voulu, dans une circonstance officielle, prononcer contre la justice en leur faveur, augmentaient encore ces troubles. Des bruits ridicules étaient semés et propagés avec art de tous côtés. La populace s'insurgea et mit le feu à l'église portugaise, qui fut pillée.

Un lettré publia alors un roman plein de fiel et de malice, dans lequel il représenta le P. Cattaneo comme prétendant à la

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* Trigault, p. 577.

† "Le P. Lazare Cattaneo, dit Semedo, était pour lors arrivé de la Chine à Macao, homme bien fait et puissant de corps, actif, de bonne mine, et vénérable avec sa longue barbe, et tel que ceux qui ne le connaissaient pas le jugeaient beaucoup plus propre à porter une pique qu'à lire un bréviaire."

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souveraine autorité ; les Japonais, les Malais étaient ses auxiliaires ; il avait dans l'intérieur un grand nombre de partisans, et il n'attendait pour agir que l'arrivée d'une flotte puissante. Répandu avec profusion, ce livre excita une terreur panique : toute la population chinoise de Macao s'enfuit sur le continent ; à Canton, on arma les jonques de guerre, on organisa les milices, on renforça les patrouilles, on redoubla de vigilance.

Les Portugais étaient dans une situation des plus critiques ; ils étaient menacés de mourir de faim. Les autorités envoyèrent une ambassade pour tenter un rapprochement ; à son tour le Vice-Roi envoya à Macao un mandarin intelligent pour examiner l'état des choses. En arrivant à la colonie, ce magistrat demanda à voir le P. Cattaneo ; il visita avec lui son arsenal, qui n'était autre que la bibliothèque, et "quand il fut entré, le P. Cattaneus lui dict : 'Voilà les armes avec lesquelles j'aspire à l'Empire de Chine.' Et quand il fut venu dans les escholes : 'Voilà, dit-il, les soldats avec lesquels j'attaquerai et dompterai vostre roïaume.' Le capitaine entendit bien par là ce que nos Pères estoient." Il fut bien vite rassuré, et la paix se rétablit.*

Tout ceci se passait en 1606. Cette même année, le P. Lazare retourna dans sa Mission avec le P. de Ursis ; mais, arrivé à Nan-tchang, tandis que son compagnon poursuivait sa route pour Pékin, il reçut ordre de s'arrêter à Nankin. Le célèbre Paul Siu Ko-lao vint l'y trouver en 1608, le priant d'évangéliser son pays natal, la ville de Chang-Haï, où il s'était retiré à la mort de son père. Cette ville etait déjà importante à cause de son commerce.

"Les murailles de la ville, dit le P. Trigault, ont deux milles de circuit ; toutefois il y a autant de maisons aux faubourgs qu'en la ville. C'est pourquoi elle contient environ 40,000 familles... Dans la seule jurisdiction de la ville il y a 300,000 habitants et elle paye tous les ans 150,000 escus d'or au Roy en argent pesé et autant en riz. Ce terroir est très fertile en riz, et principalement en coton dont on faict plusieurs draps..... C'est un peuple subtil de nature et un peu remuant. Il a la réputation de produire de beaux esprits et a beaucoup d'escholiers et de lettrez... L'air est très bon, ce qui est cause que les habitants y vivent plus longtemps qu'autre part : un homme de soixante ans n'est pas réputé parmi les vieillards ; ils vivent quasi ordinairement quatre-vingts ou quatre-vingt-dix ans ; on en trouve aussi plusieurs qui passent cent ans." †

* Trigault, p. 90.

† Trigault p. 1015-1016.

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La famille Siu possédait, dans l'enceinte murée, une résidence princière, qui devint le berceau de la foi dans ces contrées. Le P. Lazare convertit toute la famille, et bientot une riche chapelle, élevée par les soins de Dr. Paul, y attira les Chinois distingués de la ville. Siu Ko-lao d'ailleurs, par sa haute position, et surtout par sa science et sa vertu, avait une si grande influence sur ses concitoyens que la maison devint le centre d'une propagande active et d'une chrétienté florissante.

Notre-Seigneur bénit le ministère de P. Cattaneo. Dans les deux ans qu'il demeura à Chang-Haï, il baptisa 200 païens et prepara le terrain pour la moisson abondante qui suivit son départ. Afin d'affirmer la foi naissante et d'animer le zèle de ces nouveaux chrétiens, il institua une congrégation sous le patronage de la Mère de Dieu, et lui donna les mêmes règles que le P. Ricci avait données à la sienne, à Pékin: il fit même faire aux plus avancés les Exercices de Saint Ignace pendant huit jours. Dieu se plaisait à recompenser la foi des néophytes. Des malades, sur le point de mourir, recouvraient la santé aussitôt qu'ils étaient baptisés, et d'autres, en vénérant une simple croix, au grand étonnement des infidèles. La même croix chassait les démons qui tourmentaient les gentils. Une dame, qui en était molestée, et en recevait mille outrages, fut délivrée par la vertu de la croix, et ensuite baptisée. Ce fut la première chrétienne de Chang-Haï.*

Un bon vieux de quatre-vingt-un ans avait passé toute sa vie à étudier et à pratiquer les diverses sectes de la Chine, sans rencontrer dans aucune ni la paix de l'esprit, ni de solides raisons, ni même l'apparence de la vérité. La première fois qu'il entendit le P. Cattaneo, il fut si heureux qu'il se déclara humblement son disciple, et bientôt l'aida à propager la foi. A peine eut-il reçu le baptême qu'il lui amena une troupe nombreuse d'enfants, de jeunes gens, d'hommes faits de sa parenté qu'il avait instruits, et qu'il présentait au baptême.†

Le nouveau supérieur, le P. Longobardi, envoya Cattaneo de Chang-Haï à Hang-tcheou, capitale du Tché-kiang, pour y fonder une résidence, avec le P. Nicolas Trigault, nouvellement arrivé, et le F. Sébastien Fernandez. En arrivant, ils convertirent un jeune idolâtre, qui vint de lui-même s'offrir à eux; puis, aidés par le Dr. Léon, qui avait reçu le baptême à Pekin, ils amenèrent à la foi le Dr. Michel, autre mandarin d'un rang élevé et très célèbre. Cette conquête en détermina d'autres, et la chrétienté de Hang-tcheou put rivaliser avec celle de Chang-Haï

* *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*—Bartoli *loc. cit.* p. 492.
† Bartoli, p. 492

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pour le nombre, la qualité et la piété des néophytes. Le P. Cattaneo les dirigeait toutes deux avec les mêmes soins.

Pendant la persécution de 1616, il s'abstint de paraître trop ouvertement en public. En 1620, il fondait un troisième centre à Kia-ting, au Kiang-sou, patrie du Dr. Ignace, qu'il avait depuis peu converti. "Il y ouvrit une école, car c'est un lieu fort commode pour apprendre la langue en sa perfection. Le Dr. Ignace y bastit une maison ; la chapelle étoit le lieu le plus dévotieux que l'on peust souhaitter ; les chambres, les offices étoient si bien disposés qu'il sembloit avoir veu nos collèges qui sont en l'Europe. Le jardin mesme n'y manquoit pas, le vivier et le petit bocage. Mais le principal estoit qu'il y avoit un si grand repos par tout le voisinage" qu'il était une retraite autant pour la dévotion que pour les études. Et le P. Ferreira vint y enseigner le chinois "à deux qui estoient venus de nouveau, sçavoir le P. Jean Terentio et le P. François Heurtado. Or encore que l'on eust commandé à nos Pères de vaquer plus tost aux estudes, que non pas à la prédication, néanmoins on en a déjà baptisé soixante."*

En 1622, il y eut à Hang-tcheou 191 adultes baptisés, entre autres plusieurs lettrés et personnes de qualité. "Un de ceux-là étoit natif du Fokien, et prédicateur de la secte des lettrez. Il eut quelque cognoissance de la loy de Dieu, tellement qu'il se résolut de venir icy pour s'en instruire davantage. Il en parla à un des Pères, et en demeura si content qu'il se résolut d'embrasser nostre saincte foy, mais parce qu'il avoit vescu plus de soixante ans en une aultre loy, il s'adonna avec plus grande diligence, pour se faire instruire de nos mystères, et aïant receu le sainct Baptesme, devant que de s'en retourner en son pays, il fit provision d'images, d'agnus Dei, de chapelets et de livres qui traittent de nostre foy, afin, se disoit-il, de se rendre prédicateur de la vérité, comme il l'avoit esté du mensonge, et de réparer les fautes de sa vie passée, par ce peu qui lui restoit." †

En 1627, le Dr. Michel Yang faisait bâtir à Hang-tcheou une église et une résidence. C'est là que le P. Cattaneo passa les dernières années de sa vie. Il était si faible qu'il pouvait à peine se soutenir sur ses jambes et faire quelques pas, appuyé sur le bras d'un compagnon. Mais si vives que fussent ses douleurs, il conserva jusqu'au dernier jour la liberté de la tête pour penser, et la liberté de la main pour écrire, sans jamais cesser de travailler à la conversion des âmes. Et en 1634 et 1635, il avait 148 et 176 baptêmes d'adultes.‡

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* *Relations* de 1621, p. 121. † *Relations* de 1622, p. 212. ‡ Faria y Sonza, suite de *Semedo*, années 1634-1635.

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Deux ans avant sa mort, il ne pouvait plus remuer le corps et restait étendu sur un fauteuil. En le voyant en cet état, le P. Jean Froez, son compagnon, persuadé qu'il n'irait pas loin, prépara un cercueil d'avance pour l'ensevelir ; mais ce fut lui qui mourut le premier, et il fut deposé dans la bière qu'il avait achetée pour un autre. Enfin, âgé de quatre-vingts ans, le P. Cattaneo alla jouir du repos éternel, le 19 janvier 1640, laissant des exemples d'une rare vertu, et surtout d'une patience et d'une résignation admirables : car jamais on ne put saisir dans ses paroles la moindre plainte, ni sur son visage le plus léger signe de mécontentement. Il fut enterré au lieu dit "Fang-tsin," avec une magnificence extraordinaire, par les chrétiens de Hang-tcheou et de Chang-Haï.

Le P. Cattaneo a laissé les ouvrages suivants.

1. 靈性詒主 *Ling sin i tchou.* Introductio animae ad Deum. 1 vol. Conduite des âmes à la connaissance de Dieu.
2. 悔罪要記 *Hoei tsuei iao ki.* 1 vol. De la contrition et de la douleur des péchés.
3. Le P. Couplet dans sa notice sur le P. Cattaneo dit : "Prelum exspectant : De altera vita. 2 vol." Je n'en connais pas d'exemplaire imprimé.
4. Couplet indique encore : "Vocabularium ordine alphabetico Europaeo more concinnatum." C'est le dictionnaire qu'il composa avec le P. Ricci, et dont Kircher dit (*China illustrata* p.118), "Cujus exemplar apud me est quod et libeater publicae darem, si sumptus in eo faciendi suppetereat." (cf. Trigault l.c. 977).
5. Trigault (l.c.) mentionne encore "plusieurs autres traitez par le moïen desquels les Nostres pussent à l'advenir plus facilement apprendre le langage du pays."
6. Un mémoire en chinois pour se justifier devant les mandarins des calomnies, dont il avait été l'objet. Imprimé à Macao en 1606 (Trigault l.c. 912.)
7. Cardoso dans son Agiologio lusitano, tome 3, p.734 le donne comme l'auteur des cartas annuas de Chine pour l'année 1631 ; (cf. Sommervogel, *Bibliothéque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* tome 2, col. 896 sqq.)

AL. PFISTER, S.J. (J. DE LA SERVIÈRE, S.J.)

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"THE WONDER OF THE CAPITAL"

Roughly Translated

BY

A. C. MOULE.

(*Continued from page 17*)

Besides the localities which will, it is hoped, be dealt with later in a map, there are some points to note in the first chapter (pp. 15-17). Certain words were marked with a query and I am still not perfectly certain of their meaning. The *Mêng liang lu*, whose author incorporated almost the whole of the *Tu ch'êng chi shêng* in his much longer book and simplified some of the difficult places, is invaluable as a commentary. Two examples of *kuan p'o* were quoted from this book on p. 16, but a more important case had escaped me. Under the heading 夜市 or *Night Markets* we find: 大街關撲如糖蜜糕灌藕時新果子像生花果魚鮮豬羊蹄肉及細書絹扇細色紙扇漏塵扇柄異色影花扇銷金裙段背心段小兒銷金帽兒逍遙巾四時玩具沙戲兒春冬撲賣玉棚小毬燈, etc. etc. (*Mêng liang lu*, c. 13 fol. 7r°). From this it would seem that, in spite of the example from the *Mêng hua lu*, *Kuan p'o* had at Hang-chou some connexion with *p'o mai* and described the sale by some kind of auction or perhaps, lottery of sweets and other delicacies and toys and so forth. See also *Wu lin chiu shih* c. 3 fol. 1r°, 買賣皆無所禁晝楫輕舫旁午如織至於果蔬羹酒關撲宜男戲具 . . . 謂之湖中土宜. Secondly, *ching chi jên* does not seem in this place to mean a *broker* or *agent* (牙儈), but, as translated, a *merchant* or, perhaps, a *retailer*. The *Mêng liang lu*, c. 13, fol. 8r°, has 又有經紀人攜 . . . 架兒, which suggests pedlars. 小經紀人 *Hsiao ching chi jên* seems to have this meaning also, as will be seen by comparing these extracts from the two accounts of the new year festivities: 京尹乘小提轎 . . . 凡遇小經紀人必犒數千謂之買市 (*Wu lin chiu shih* c. 2, fol. 14 r°.) and 十五夜帥臣出街 . . . 特犒街坊買賣之人 (*Mêng liang lu*, c. 1, fol. 3 v°). The first of these sentences shows incidentally that 買市 *mai shih* is a technical phrase, so that it is wrongly translated "buyers and sellers" on p. 16, and it may have been this ceremony of giving presents to the street dealers which the emperor liked to see.

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Mai shih was one of the sights of the tenth month. *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 10, fol. 12). *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 6, fol. 12-15, gives a list of a 177 *hsiao ching chi* peculiar to Hang-chou, of which the great majority are things or trades which might well be sold or practised in the streets. Thirdly, for 龕客糖果 the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 13, fol. 2 v°, substitutes 泉龕糖蜜 "sweetmeats from Ch'uan chou and Fu chou," so confirming the version given.

II.—"Business Firms.

諸行

市肆謂之行(音杭)者因官府科索而得此名不以其物大小但合充用者皆置爲行雖醫卜亦有職醫剋擇之差占則與市肆當行同也內亦有不當行而借名之者如酒行食飯行是也又有名爲團者如城西之花團泥路之青果團江干之羣團後市街之柑子團是也其他工伎之人或名爲作如篦刀作腰帶作金銀鏤作鈒作是也又有異名者如七寶謂之骨董行浴堂謂之香水行是也大抵都下萬物所聚如官巷之花所聚花朵冠梳釵環領抹極其工巧古所無也都下市肆名家馳譽者如中瓦前早兒水雜賣場前甘豆湯如戈家蜜煎兒官巷口光家羹湯金門瀉肺中瓦前職家羊飯彭家油鞭南瓦宣家台衣張家糰子候潮門顧四笛大瓦子邱家簞簜之類

"The business houses which are called *hang* (the sound is *hang* [and not *hsing*]) obtain this name from their official status without regard to the extent of their stocks; but all those which employ men under government contract are reckoned *hang*. Even the physicians and diviners, if they have an official position, rank then equally with the business houses as *hang*.* Among

*The exact sense of the phrases 官府科索. 但合充用者. 亦有職醫剋擇之差占 has quite eluded me. I am not even sure that my paraphrase is right, but it seems on the whole to be justified by the corresponding passage in the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 13, fol. 2r°. 市肆謂之團行者蓋因官府同買而立此名不以物之大小皆置爲團行雖醫卜工役亦有差使則與當行同也然雖差役如官司和僱支給雇米反勝于民間僱倩工錢而工役之輩則歡樂而往也. The phrases in question thus seem to indicate that the employers of the firms which were called *hang* or *t'uan* were paid out of government loans on a system known in the T'ang dynasty as 和僱 *ho ku* (cf. *ho mai*, p. 16 above), and revived by Wang An-shih under the name of 募役 *mo i* or 僱役 *ku i* as a remedy for the injustice of forced labour. Cf. *Tz'ŭ-yüan* s.v. 和 (以和僱爲稱. 而不償其傭.); 差; 僱 (王安石作僱役法. 令民輸錢於官. 更募人代役.); 募 (募人充官役也. . . . 凡有課役 . . . 各以鄉戶等第差充. 人民苦之. 王安石乃立募役法. 出錢募人充役. 不願充役者輸錢. 謂之助役錢) and 傭 (雇代也).

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the *hang* there are also some which are not *hang* but have borrowed the name, like the wine *hang* or the cooked food *hang*. There are also what are named companies, as are the Flower Company west of the city, the Olive Company on the unpaved road, the Salt Fish Company on the River-side, or the Orange Company in the Hou shih street.* The members of other crafts may be called Makers, as are the Comb Makers, Girdle Makers, Gilt and Silver'd Goods Makers, and Inlay Makers. There are also those with unexpected † names, as one calls jewellers Ku tung (*antiques*) *hang*, or the bath houses one calls Scent *hang*. Speaking generally the capital is the place where everything is brought together, like the flowers, hats, combs [ornamental], hair-pins, rings, collars, head-bands, of extreme ingenuity and modern invention, which are gathered in the flower *hang* in the Kuan lane. The well-known establishments which value their reputation among the business houses of the capital are such as the Chestnut Syrup [shop] in front of the Middle *Wa*, the Sweet Bran Soup [shop] in front of the Miscellaneous Goods Market,‡ or as the Ko family's Honey-jujubes, the Kuang family's Broth at the mouth of the Kuan lane, the fruit [shop] at the Great *Wa-tzŭ*, the cooked meat [shop] in front of the Shou-tz'ŭ Palace, the Five Sisters Sung for Fish Broth outside the Ch'ien-t'ang Gate ; or the Hashed Lights [?] at the Yung-chin Gate ; in front of the Middle *Wa* the Chih family's Mutton Dinners, the P'êng family for Water-proof Boots, at the

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* The positions of these Companies are better defined in the *Lin-an chih*, c. 19, fol. 18, and *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 6, fol. 1: the Flower Company was outside the 錢塘 Ch'ien-t'ang gate, and a second was at the Kuan-hsiang k'ou; the unpaved or earth road was inside the 候潮 Hou-ch'ao gate, and was perhaps the "new road" of the first sentence of I (p. 15); the 'River-side' is defined as at the 渾水閘 Hun shui cha, one of the three sluices (渾水, 清水, and 龍山) then in use for flushing the city canals with water from the river. These sluices have long been out of use, but the masonry was still standing in good order in 1906, and they are shown in the map of Lin-an in Bishop G. E. Moule's *Notes on Hangchow*, 1907, and in the thirteenth century maps in the *Lin-an chih*. The Hou shih street retains its old name and position, west of the Great Street and behind the old mosque. The mosque, which was built A.D. 1281, serves to fix within a few feet the ancient position just there of both the Hou shih and the Great Street. The words *hang* and *t'uan* were interchangeable as is seen from the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 19, fol. 8 ; 青果行獻時果社.

†Or perhaps "undescriptive"; *different* from what the goods sold would lead one to expect the name to be.

‡This Market was east of the 通江 T'ung chiang Bridge. See *Mêng liang lu*, c 7, fol. 2vo.

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South *Wa* the Hsüan family for [? Edible] Moss, and the Chang family's Dumplings; Ku Ssŭ's Flutes, or the Ch'iu family's Pipes at the Great *Wa-tzŭ*.*

VIII.—"Holidays and Gatherings.†

文士則有西湖詩社此社非其他社集之比乃行都士夫寓居及詩人會多出名士隱語則有南北壓齋西齋皆依江右謎法習詩之流萃而爲齋　又有社川弩射弓社　奉佛則有上天竺寺光明會皆城內外富家助備瞻鞠打毬社此社皆中太平興國傳法寺淨業會每作齋會則往彼以茶湯助緣供應會善用　又有茶湯會此會每遇諸山寺院香花鐙燭齋襯施利以備本寺一歲之人　城中十七日則集男士十八日則集女人月十　寺諷經聽法歲終則建藥師會七晝夜　西湖每歲四月放生會其餘諸寺經會　各有方所日分每歲行都神祠誕辰迎獻則有酒行　錦體社八仙社漁父習閒社神鬼社小女童像生叫聲社過雲社奇巧飲食社花果社七寶考古社豪貴緋綠清樂社皆中外風流最勝

*The above noted houses (市肆名家有名者) are given identically the same in the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 13, fol. 3v°. except that 元子 Yüan tzŭ is substituted for 糰子 t'uan tzŭ. No dictionary at my disposal tells me the meaning of 灌肺 *Kuan fei* or of 台衣 *t'ai i*. I have supposed that they may have some connexion with 灌腸 *Kuan ch'ang* "minced tripe" and 苔衣 *t'ai i* "moss" respectively, but I may be quite wrong. *Kuan fei* looks also as if it might have some connexion with 水肺 *shui fei*, which the *Tz'ŭ yüan* gives as a synonym for 海參 *Hai ts'an*, the sea-slug 香藥灌肺 and 灌腸 are the third and fourth in the list of eatables (市食) *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 6, fol. 7; and the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 7 records a 灌肺嶺 Kuan fei ling bridge (fol. 3v°.) and lane (fol. 10v°.) Ku ssŭ meant perhaps "the fourth brother Ku." Many of the performers who are immortalized in *Wu lin chiu shih* c. 6, fol. 19, are thus numbered, 沈二, 葛四, 耿四, etc. The *ti* at that time was probably a vertical flute like that which is now commonly called *hsiao*, though the horizontal flute was not unknown. The *pi-li*, of which the descriptions are very vague, was perhaps a straight bamboo pipe with a double reed. Both instruments are mentioned again on fol. 8, 9. Cf. *Journal N.C.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 84, 151-155. The author in his Preface (p. 14 above) apologizes for not having chosen his words; but in fact he chose so many strange words, names of eatables, wines, etc., etc., that I have not been able to get the next instalment ready in time and so give a rough version of the easier passages with which the book ends, hoping to fill up the five missing chapters later.

†社 *Shê* is no doubt, as the *Tz'ŭ Yüan* says, an abbreviation of 社日 *Shê jih*, "a day on which one makes offerings to the God of the Earth." But *shê hui*, like *holiday*, seems very largely to have lost its religious meaning, though the days, as in England, kept the memory of their religious origin at least in their dates. *Shê*, *hui* and *chi*, have also the meaning of a *Fair*, or *Market*, as in 時果社 note p. above.

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"For scholars there is the Poetry Festival on the West Lake. This festival is unlike the other festival gatherings. And the scholars of the temporary capital and sojourners and poets have in the past produced many famous literary men.*

"For riddles and allegory there are the South and North *Hou* Schools and the West School, all modelled on the enigma methods of West of the River. Those who write verses gather together and form a School.†

"There are also Football and Polo Holidays, and Water-cross-bow and Archery Holidays.‡

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* This apparently awkward sentence simply means, I suppose, that the literary fame of Hang-chou is great, and depends largely on poets like Po Chü-i and Su Tung-p'o who were not natives of the place.

† 齋 *Chai* or 齋舍 *Chai shê* is a hall attached to a college or temple for meditation or literary gatherings. Here the word is used for the festival gatherings held in such halls. *School* is not a good rendering, but will perhaps serve. Of the six *chai shê* rebuilt in the twelfth century the third was called 享厚齋 Tun hou chai (*Linan chih*, c. 56, fol. 3r°), but beyond this I have found no trace of the *chai* mentioned here. *Chiang yu* normally means the right or, as the Chinese characteristically say, west bank of the River, "looking at it from the north." Couvreur (1904) s.v. 右, explains 右 *yu*, perhaps by accident, as "le côté oriental," but usually *yu* is west and 左 *tso* is east. Possibly, however, when the court was at Hang-chou, they "looked at it from the South," and one might guess that the author, who was himself on the right bank of the River and constantly refers to the customs of the old capital, intended the east or north side of the River. But I know no authority for such a meaning of *Chiang yu*, and among the experts in enigma (廋謎) in *Wu liu chiu shih*, c. 6, fol. 22v°, it is significant that we find 周月巖 (江西人) "Chou Yüeh-yen, a *Chiang hsi* man."

‡ For Football and Polo as played in China see Professor Giles, *Adversaria Sinica* I, p. 87-98: and *Tz'ŭ yüan* s.v. 蹴. Football seems to have consisted kicking a ball through a small hole in an ornamental framework between two uprights, and beyond the general likeness of the goal and the fact there were two opposing teams of sixteen men each, it was quite unlike our game. Polo, on the other hand, seems to have been the game that is still played. At Hang-chou it was played in front of the 羣仙繪幅樓 Ch'ün hsien hui fu lou in the second month. See *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 10, fol. 9r°. Cf. c. 4, fol. 24, where the names of 12 foot-ball players 築毬 are given, and c. 6, fol. 26. 川弩 Ch'uan nu was a water-crossbow (whatever that may be), as is seen from the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 19, fol. 7vo. 更有蹴踘打毬射水弩社. The same book, c. 1, fol. 2, shows that archery was practised at the new year festival. The *Tz'ŭ yüan*, it is fair to add, gives no explanation of 水弩 *shui nu* except that it is the name of an insect (蟲名); and our author himself has written 穿弩子 ch'uan nu tzŭ for 川弩 ch'uan nu on fol. 11r° above.

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"If one is a Buddhist then there is the Kuang-ming Gathering at the Upper T'ien-chu monastery,* when all the wealthy families inside and outside the city help to prepare incense and flowers, lanterns and candles, giving gifts and spending money to provide for the needs of this monastery for the whole year.

"There are also Tea and Soup Gatherings. For these Gatherings whenever anyone of all the monasteries and convents on the hills holds a Gathering† then people go there with tea and soup to help and minister to the pious at the Gathering.

"At the Ching-yeh (? Moral cleansing) Gatherings at the T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo preaching monastery in the city, men meet on the 17th day and women on the 18th day of every month. They go to the monastery to chant prayers and listen to a sermon. At the end of the year the Medicine Master's Festival is kept up for seven days and nights.‡

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*It is hard to be sure in this place whether 會 *hui* is plural or singular. *Kuan-ming* or Radiance, which seems to have been an attribute of 如來 Ju-lai (*Fa yüan chu lin* 如來有六種光明) and of Kuan-yin, and also an indication of the presence of a relic or treasure (Nan shih, c. 78, fol. 4vo., 放光明由是定知必有舍利) has here perhaps reference to the fact that the site of the monastery was pointed out by a miraculous light. But light and radiance fill so large a space in Buddhist lore that no such explanation is really required. The first building at Upper T'ien-chu, in a densely wooded valley shut in by high hills, seems to have been done A.D. 939 by the monk 道翊 Tao-i, who found a wooden image of Kuan-yin by the help of a miraculous light. Ten years later a monk came from Lo-yang with a relic of Buddha which also gave out a light (晝放白光), and the feudal prince Ch'ien founded in consequence the 天竺觀音看經院 T'ien chu kuan yin k'an ching yüan. In the twelfth century the wealth of the monastery is said to have rivalled that of the palace. In 1171 the title was changed from *yüan* to 寺 *ssŭ*. The monastery was burnt in 1266, and rebuilt in 1268 as 天竺教寺 T'ien chu chiao ssŭ. See *Mêng liang lu*, c. 19, fol. 8vo. (which adds that these festivals lasted for three days: 三日作大福田); 西湖遊覽志 *Hsi hu yu lan chih*, c. 11, fol. 10, 11; 臨安志, *Lin-an chih*, c. 80, fol. 14-22.

† Perhaps a *Fast;* for 作齋會 *Mêng liang lu* reads 設齋. The same book adds a note of another Buddhist gathering which the ladies used as an opportunity for the display of jewelry till it was nicknamed 鬬寶會 Tou pao hui or the Jewelry Competition Festival. On Buddha's birthday (8th of the 4th month) there was also a children's festival called 朝塔會 Ch'ao t'a hui at the 六和塔 Lu ho t'a.

‡ 藥師 Yo shih stands, I suppose, for 藥王 Yo wang, that is to say either 韓琦 Han ch'i (Giles *B.D.* 610) of the 11th century, or the Taoist 章善俊 Chang Shan-chün of the 7th century, deified. See *Tz'ŭ Yüan* s.v. 藥王, and Eitel, who gives a rather different story. The *Mêng liang lu*, c.19, fol. 9, written only forty years later, says that this festival had long ceased to be observed (今廢之久矣).

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"On the West Lake the Fang-shêng Festival is held every year in the fourth month.* The rest, religious gatherings at all the monasteries, all have their proper places and dates. Whenever people go to pay their respects and make offerings on the birthdays [of the gods] in the temples of the temporary capital, there are always wine parties.†

"The Chin-t'i fair, Pa-hsien fair, Yü-fu, hsi-hsien fair, Shên-kuei fair, Hsiao-nü-t'ung, hsiang shêng chiao shêng fair, ch'i ch'iao yin shih fair, Hua kuo fair, Ch'i pao k'ao ku fair, at all these rare jewels and curiosities native and foreign [are to be found],—the horse fair, Hao-kuei, Fei-lü, Ch'ing-yo fairs. These fairs reach the highest pitch of gaiety."‡

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* This festival, beautiful in idea though not always so in practice, of setting living creatures (tortoises, frogs, snakes, fishes, birds, and more rarely domestic animals) at liberty was held on the 8th day of the 4th month. The *Mêng liang lu*, ibid., speaks of the great crowds which took part in it (此會所集數萬人). A great trade was done in living things, very many of which were set free and caught again several times and must have thought the day anything but a happy festival. For the foundation of the festival in the reign of Chên Tsung, see p. 312 above.

† 酒行 does not seem to mean wine shops here, and I have translated it with reference to 行酒 *hsing chiu*, "to pass round the wine," which Couvreur quotes from the *Shih chi;* but it seems to be possible that it means drunkenness, with allusion to *Shu ching* (酒誥; Legge, Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 401): 酒惟行. On the other hand the phrase 酒三行且起 in a preface by Han Yü and his lines 去去事方急 酒行可以起 seem rather to favour the more temperate version. Thus in this small pamphlet 酒行 *chiu hang* (and *hsing*) occurs in two senses which are not mentioned in Couvreur, Giles, or the *Tz'ŭ yüan*.

‡ The translation and explanation of this last list of nam esof fairs or meetings is beyond my powers. Meetings for football matches, theatricals, etc. etc., were known by various fancy names. The *Tz'ŭ yüan*, s.v. 緋, says that the *Red and Green*, so named from the colour of the clothes which it was the fashion to wear (就其所衣而名), was the occasion for variety shows (雜劇), and that the football meetings were called 齊雲社 Ch'i-yün shê. The whole series evidently provided fashionable holidays for every class and rank of society. The *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 3, fol. 4v°, gives the following list with brief explanations:—

緋綠社(雜劇)齊雲社(蹴毬)遏雲社(唱賺)同文社(耍詞)
角觝社(相撲)清音社(清樂)錦標社(射弩)錦體社(花繡)
英略社(使棒)雄辯社(小說)翠錦社(行院)繪革社(影戲)
淨髮社(梳剃)律華社(吟叫)雲機社(撮弄)而七寶滙焉
二會爲最. 習閒 *hsi hsien* is given below as an alternative name apparently for makers of mat sheds (專爲棚頭又謂之習閒), the parallel passage in the *Mêng liang lu* substituting 閒漢 *hsien han* for *hsi hsien*. Neither phrase is in the *Tz'ŭ yüan*.

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X.—"Boats.

行便料五十運遊畢不富中可亦有甚
都而約百餘平玩備勞宝浙觀然弄爲
左西長料客稱人但餘出有惟潮奇者
舟江湖五約皆如貨早力造秋金浙者觀
船右舟十長奇坐假出惟者中明江持天
湖船餘三巧平舟登支又皆池自旗下
河大二丈打地中舟費特有之孟執獨
運小中十造無厥而錢精龍遣秋竿此
通不可丈雕飾須飲耳級舟風至狎有
流等容可棚四器暮耳爭而中戲之
舟有百容畫時物則有西標東秋波
船一餘三棟常一徑貴湖輕浦閒海
最千客五行有一歸府憲遮河則中

"The temporary capital has the river on the east and the lake on the west and is traversed by artificial water ways so that it is admirably suited for boats. But the boats on the West Lake are of different sizes. There are some of 1000 *liao*, about 500 feet or more in length, which will carry more than a hundred passengers; and some of 500 *liao*, perhaps 300 or 200 feet long, carrying from thirty to fifty or more passengers; all cunningly built with carved rails and painted beams, and travelling as smoothly and steadily as if [one was] sitting on terra firma. All the year round they are constantly hired by pleasure parties. The utensils and things needed on the boats are all provided, and one has only to come out in the morning and go on board and drink and go home in the evening, without any other exertion than the spending of money. The private boats of those who have

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palaces or luxurious houses are specially well and finely built. Both on the West Lake in the spring and on the river in the autumn there are dragon boats racing for prizes, beautifully light and rapid in movement. This is the traditional custom of the Chin-ming lake, and it is the same with the river Tung-p'u. Only on the river Chê from the beginning to the middle of autumn there are the players with the tide, who holding a flag and a staff make sport among the waves. It is an extremely curious sight, and this the only place in the world where it may be seen.*

The parallel passage in the *Mêng liang lu*, c.12, fol. 12-16, is so much more interesting that it seems worth while to translate some extracts :—

"Hang-chou with the river on the east and the lake on the west is specially remarkable. There are not less than many hundreds of boats of different sizes on the lake. There are some of 1000 *liao* perhaps 200 feet or more in length, which will carry a hundred persons; of 500 *liao* perhaps 100 feet or more in length and carrying thirty to fifty persons; all cunningly built with carved rails and painted capitals, and moving as if [on] solid ground. They all have proper names :—*Hundred Flowers, Ten Embroideries, Jewels* . . . The names are very many so I mention one or two. There is also the carriage boat of Chia Ch'iu-ho's palace. On the deck above the cabin (船棚上) there are no men poling, but it travels by means of wheels worked by a tread-mill, and the speed is like flying. There is also the Emperor's boat moored to the bank (水次) in the 小湖園 Hsiao hu yüan. This boat is all curiously carved and constructed, and is built of sandal wood; and it was only once used by the

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* 料 *liao* is evidently a unit of measurement for the tonnage of boats or ships, but I have not been able to discover its capacity. From *Chau Ju-kua* p. 34, it seems that 嶺外代答 *Ling wai tai ta*, A.D. 1178, uses 斛 *hu* in the same sense. "500 feet" we might charitably suppose to be a misprint for "200 feet," but the exaggeration, as it very probably must be, immediately repeated in "300 or 200 feet long" for the boats of 500 *liao*. The translation seems to offer no difficulties except in the words 輕捷可觀 ch'ing chieh k'o kuan. The examples in the *P'ei wên yün fu* seem to show that ch'ing chieh means "light and rapid;" but I do not feel quite sure whether k'o kuan ends the sentence meaning "beautiful" (as 可愛 k'o ai means "lovely"), or begins the next sentence meaning "It may be seen." The Chin-ming lake was outside the 順天 Shun-t'ien gate of Pien (K'ai-fêng.)

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Princess of Chou and Han for a picnic.* At the quay in front of the 靈芝 Ling-chih monastery lies the lake barge built by Chao Chieh-chai called the *Black Dragon*. Every time that it is poled out there is a great storm and the guests are frightened, so that they are generally afraid to move it out." Here follows an account of the various boats and punts used on the lake for fishing, or the sale of eatables, fruit, sweets, tortoises to be set free, etc. etc.: including small foot-boats (小脚船 now rarely seen on the lake) used by singing girls, musicians and pilgrims. "All the year round the large and small pleasure boats for hire have no holiday. If there is a great fall of snow there are the boats of the rich families having snow picnics. And if it is the 8th day of the 2nd month, 寒食 Han shih or 清明 Ch'ing ming, one must give his order to the boatmen and hire a boat definitely before-hand. On this day a punt or boat cannot be hired for less than 200 or 300 cash (券, the sound at Hang-chou being the same as that of 餐), and on the day itself not even a small foot-boat is disengaged. . . . High officers and chamberlains generally have 採蓮 Ts'ai lien boats with blue cotton awnings, propelled by poles, and seating one or two passengers, and decorated with special splendour.

"River and Sea Boats and Ships.†

"The river Chê is a connecting way between the river and the ocean crossing. And as to the ocean merchant ships they are of different sizes. The large ones of 5,000 *liao* will carry 500 or 600 men; the second class of from 2,000 to 1,000 *liao* will also carry 200 or 300 men, the rest are called 鑽風 Tsuan-fêng, large and small having eight oars or six oars, and each boat can

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*周漢國公主 Chou han kuo kung chu, the only and much-loved child of the Emperor Li Tsung (1225-1264), died at the age of 22 years in July, 1263. See *Sung shih*, c.248, fol. 7ro. For her sandal-wood boat 香楠木 see *Wu lin chiu shih*, c.3 fol.3 理宗時亦嘗製一舟悉用香楠木搶金爲之亦極華侈然終於不用至景定閒周漢國公主得旨偕駙馬都尉楊鎮汎湖一時文物亦盛髣髴承平之舊傾城縱觀都人爲之罷市然是時先朝龍舫久已沈沒獨有小舟號小烏龍者 . . . . 或傳此舟每出必有風雨余嘗屢乘初無此異也. Just above the author has said 離宮別館不復增修 "The deserted palaces and halls are not built up again." Marco Polo, who visited Hang-chou about this time (c. 1280), gives the same account of the rapid ruin of the disused palace buildings.

† The first sentence makes it clear that 艦 *hsien* does not here mean a warship.

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carry more than 100 men. These are fishing boats. There are also what are named 三板 San-pan boats. We will not speak of this class of boat, but of the merchant ships. As soon as they enter the gates of the ocean there is the vast expanse of the sea without a shore, strong and very dangerous, the abode of mysterious dragons and marvellous serpents. At times of storm and darkness they travel trusting to the compass alone, and the captain steering dares not make the smallest error since the lives of all in the ship depend on him. I have often seen great merchants who have told me all this in detail. If one wishes to sail to foreign countries to trade then it is from Ch'üan chou that he sets out to sea. As he travels past the 七洲洋 Ch'i chou sea, if those on board take soundings the water is roughly more than 700 feet deep. If one passes the Kun-lun sand-flats, the serpents, dragons, porpoises and such mysterious sea creatures often cause rain there.* Above a mass of clouds will begin to gather, and then one sees a dragon showing its whole body, its eyes flashing like lightning, its claws and horns twisting about, and only its tail invisible, and in an instant the rain pours down in a torrent, the wind and the waves are lifted up to the sky, and it is extremely terrible. The water of the ocean is shallow near islands and reefs. If a reef is struck the ship is sure to be lost. It depends entirely on the compass, and if there is a small error you will be buried in the belly of a shark. Sailors have an ancient saying, 'Going beware of Ch'i chou; beware of Kun-lun returning.' The water here too (Kun-lun) is more than 500 feet deep. They tell us also that the sailors know the weather by looking at the sunrise and sunset at sea, and know the nature of the wind, fair or contrary, with the greatest accuracy by inspecting the clouds or mists. If they see breakers in the distance, they know that the wind will come from that direction; if they see great waves breaking on the beach, they know that the next day a south wind will get up; if they see lightning, they say 'the summer wind faces the lightning,' and so on without the least mistake. By considering whether the water is clear or muddy they know their distance from land. Out at sea the water is blue and dark like indigo; the water among islands is greenish blue; and close to land it is muddy and light coloured. Where fish are plentiful there are sure to be many reefs, because sea-weed, on which the fish depend, is plentiful on rocks. The 14th and

* Compare 海天昏黑龍行雨樓閣青紅蜃吐雲 quoted in *P'ei wên yün fu* s.v. 雨.

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28th of every month are called great days (? 大等日分). If there is no wind or rain on these two days they know that there will be many storms within the next ten days. Whenever they take soundings they must examine the bottom. By knowing what kind of sand or mud it is composed of they know whether there is a river in the land they are near.

"Merchants, who only go to 台 T'ai, 溫 Wên, 泉 Ch'üan, or 福 Fu to trade, never cross the seas of Ch'i-chou or Kun-lun. Those who go to sea sail from the river's mouth at Ch'üan chou (泉州港口) to the 岱嶼門 Tai yü Strait, and then go out to sea, cross the ocean and travel to foreign lands.* The boats on the river Chê and even the sea-going ships generally have rules for going and coming. The boats from 嚴 Yen, 婺 Wu (金華 Chin-hua), 衢 Chü, and 徽 Hui generally take part in the coming and going of the through trade, and are called long boats (長艚) and so forth [carrying], for example the firewood, timber, oranges and dry or fresh fruit of Hang city, which are mostly produced in these regions. Sea fish, fresh or dried, and crabs and such like from 明 Ming (Ning-po), 越 Yüeh (Shao-hsing), 溫 Wên, or 台 T'ai also come up to the flats and penetrate 江浙 Chiang-chê. Only the boats coming to and from the regions of Yen, Wu, Chü and Hui come down stream easily, but go up with difficulty, because of the steepness of the rapids and the resistance of the water. The number of boats at the river-side (江岸) is very great, nor are they all of one kind. Great sea-going merchant ships, large and small fishing boats, public and private boats for the Chê-chiang and 漁浦 Yü-p'u ferries, cargo and passenger boats, all anchor at the river-side. For the city of Hang is a populous and large place, where merchants in immense numbers and officials as they go and come all meet."

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* If there were still any doubt as to the identity of Zaitun and 泉州 Ch'üan chou, this repeated statement of the position of Ch'üan chou with relation to foreign trade, published within a year of Marco Polo's arrival in China, would be enough to remove it. The Tai yü, 50 li S.E. of Ch'üan chou, was notorious for its shifting sand-flats (厦舊商船患). *Ta Ch'ing i t'ung chih*, c. 264, fol. 13.

(To be continued).

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CHINESE DITTIES

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,
H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED).

(*Continued from page 272*)

若要富燕酒磨豆腐　　第一窮趕狗入邊壠

In order to become rich one should ferment spirits and make bean-curd. The very poorest are those who drive dogs to the foothills.

[In Mei Hsien, Kuangtung, fermenting spirits and making bean-curd are the most lucrative businesses. Driving dogs to the foothills (lit., grassy hills) refers to the hunting, there chiefly done by poor men, who live by selling the flesh and skin of the prey.]

食着摩打罵有　　算來前世係摩修

I receive neither food nor clothes, only beatings and cursings. This is because I sinned in a former existence.

[This ditty originated in the alleged notorious ill-treatment of wives in Mei Hsien.]

轉外家害自家　　飯盖上塵菜打花

A wife by returning to her mother's home injures her own. There will be dust on the rice-bowl lid and the vegetables will be flowery (unfit for food).

[Being detained too long in her mother's home she neglects her own. This and the following four songs are current in Mei Hsien.]

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牛耕田馬食穀　　亞婦種子大婆享福

The ox ploughs the field, but the horse eats the grain. The concubine rears a son, but the great mother enjoys his services.

[The "great mother" is the chief (first) wife of his father. When a man has no son he may take a concubine. By the custom of the Mei Hsien district the concubine's son must serve his "great mother" until her death.]

柑花開吳王來　　柑結子吳王死

When the orange tree blooms King Wu comes. When the orange tree seeds King Wu dies.

["King Wu" is Sun Hao 孫皓, the last emperor (A.D. 264-80) of the Wu Kingdom. The reference is explained as meaning that he succeeded to the throne in the spring and was deposed in the autumn.]

十斑九梟一斑不梟雷打火燒　十鬍九富一鬍不富惟孤老墓

Of ten turtle doves nine are owls. The one which is not an owl will be destroyed by thunder and burned by fire. Of ten bearded men nine are rich. The one who is not rich will lie in an eccentric's grave.

[孤老 literally, solitary and old grave; here, by transferred epithet, an eccentric man.]

耕車田住茅屋年年破壞補不足

I plough a poor field and live in a thatched hut. Year after year I patch up the broken parts.

瘦馬拉搭腳糠飯糙子活

A bony horse draws a shaky car, and men who live on rice-husks work badly.

[Lê T'ing, Chihli, landowners often go out and trade beyond the frontier, leaving their agriculture to be performed by their employees. This is a hint to the landowners that they should not treat the labourers harshly. By giving them bad food they will only get bad work in return.]

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春鰣秋鯖白眼制穀

[We eat] cod in the spring, roach in the autumn, and "white-eye" at the rice harvest.

[Lê T'ing is a seaside fishing town. The fish named are at their best in the three seasons mentioned. "White-eye," a colloquialism, perhaps refers to the sturgeon. It is otherwise stated to be the 銀魚, whitebait, or the 黃魚, *acipenser manchuricus*, Basil. Though the song is current in parts of this province, the Pekingese fishmongers cannot identify the fish.]

不剔辮子沒法混　剔了辮子怕張順

If one does not shave off the queue one cannot mix with the people ; if one shaves it off one fears Chang Hsün.

[This is a modern song which has come into being since Chang Hsün's futile attempt to restore the monarchy in 1917. 順 for 動 ; 剔 has here the rhyme value of 戳.]

作了單衣水上氷　作了棉衣楊柳青

By the time one's summer clothes are made ice has formed on the water ; by the time one's winter clothes are made the leaves of the willow are green.

[This song, commonly heard in Peking, refers to the time wasted by slothful workers.]

有	不	車	頭	我	人	我	人
餘	足	濮	看	騎	家	也	家
	比	比	見	驢	騎	趕	趕
	下	上	推	回	馬	集	集

He goes to market, and I do so too ; but he rides a horse, and I a donkey. When I look back I see following me a man drawing a cart. [Now I know that] I am not good enough to be compared with the former, but too good to be compared with the latter.

[Current in Ku-an, Chihli.]

小	小	子	作					
門	墩	哭	哭					
涕	涕	要	打					
媳	婦	要	媳					
婦	幹	麻	作					
鞋	作	襪	點					
燈	說	話						

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A little boy sits on the door-step weeping because he has no wife. "Why do you want a wife ?" [they ask him.] "A wife would make shoes and socks for me," [he replies] "wait on me and talk to me."

[This is a common song of the little boys of Chiang-pei. 作 for 坐.]

兩柳夾一槐老猿還得來　兩槐夾一柳太后還得走

When there is a *huai* tree between two willows old Yüan will come ; when there is one willow between two *huai's* the empress will go.

[This song belongs to the second and third years of the emperor Hsüan T'ung of the late Ch'ing dynasty. During that time *huai* (*Sophora Japonica*) and willow trees were planted alternately by the road-sides. Yüan is Yüan Shih-k'ai, the first President of the Republic.]

這時不算苦二四加一五　滿天紅燈照那時才叫苦

The present cannot be considered the worst time. To two fours add one five. When red lanterns illuminate the whole sky, that will be the worst time.

[This song was made after the " Boxer year " (1900). " Two fours " are the Eight Banners of the Manchu *régime*. " One five " is the five-coloured flag of the Republic, in which each of the five nations under the Chinese Government is represented by a coloured stripe. " Red lanterns " are a sign of revolution.]

啦	霍	啦	霍	打	小	娘	爹	黃	月
兩	啦	兩	啦	籠	妮	紡	織	吧	奶
三	啦	三	啦	蕾	來	花	布	吧	奶

When the moon goddess begins to shed her light father sews cloth and mother reels thread, and the girl comes and spins *lung-fu*. She spins two or three pieces to the sound *holalala, holalala*.

[*Lung-fu* in olden times was the rush tube put on the shuttle before drawing the thread through with the teeth. *Holalala*, or *hurarara*, is the sound made by the shuttle as it spins round. 三 here has the sound 沙. 娘 may be either a relative or non-relative. This ditty comes from Wei-hui, Honan.

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斑竹呀苦竹呀對門對戶打親家親家兒子會跑馬親家女子會繡花大姐繡的蘑芝草二姐繡的牡丹花惟有三姐不會繡篤起子東子紡棉花一天紡得十二斤拿給哥哥做手巾一天紡得十二條拿給哥哥接嫂嫂接個嫂嫂心不平嫁到高山苦竹林要柴燒柴又高要水喫水又深打濕羅裙不打緊打濕花鞋萬千針

Mottled bamboo ! bitter bamboo ! He contracts a marriage with his neighbour whose house is opposite to his own. The son of his neighbour can ride and his daughter can embroider. His eldest daughter embroiders designs of *ling-chih* grass ; the second embroiders figures of peonies ; but the third cannot embroider at all. But she can spin on the spinning-wheel. In one day she spins twelve catties and gives it to her elder brother to make a handkerchief. In one day she spins twelve strips and gives it to her elder brother so that he may marry a wife. But her new sister-in-law is narrow-minded. As soon as she is married she goes up the high mountains covered with bitter bamboos. She wants to get fuel to burn, but it is in high (unattainable) places. She wants water to drink, but the well is very deep. Wetting her apron does not matter, but wetting her embroidered shoes involves the work of a myriad needles (infinite amount of labour).

[Youngsters of three and upwards in Ch'êng-tu, Ssŭch'uan, sing this song. *Ling-chih*, the plant of longevity, a species of agaric.]

月光光通通明
撐把傘看門人
丈人不在家見桃花小紅臉等得金蓮來
年年拉抓好一頂
一旺轎娶到家
花轎娶親

The moon shines brightly over all. I take my umbrella and go to visit my [future] father-in-law. Father- and mother-in-law are not at home. I lift the door-screen and catch sight of her [my future bride]. Her face in its fresh ruddiness rivals the peach-flower. Her tiny " golden lilies " [feet] are so small that a touch would make her fall. If next year's harvest is good, I will take her to my home in an embroidered sedan-chair.

[Current in Fêng-ch'êng Hsien, Kiangsi.]

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敢 个 又 又 來 饑 爾 吃 我
進 賤 歪 深 莊 不 爹 媽 娃
來 人 那 狗 子 回 要 奶 乖

My infant is at my breast. His father is away dunning a creditor, and does not come back. But our house stands far back, and our dog is fierce; so no disreputable person will dare to approach.

[Current in Hsi-an, Shensi. 歪 is a colloquialism for 兇.]

人行時時又胖又白走到人家就說是一個客
「借錢五十」（行時人借）
「就是一百」（人家答應）
「下個月還你」（行時人說）
「好說好說」（人家答）

人倒霉時又瘦又黑走到人家就說是一個賊
「借錢五十」
「一個都沒得」
「下個月還你」
「胡說胡說」

A man in luck is fat and white. When he goes to another's home, they describe him as a guest.

"Lend me fifty cash," he says.
"Here are a hundred," they reply.
"I will repay you next month," he says.
"Very good, very good," they reply.

A man down in his luck is thin and black. When he goes to another's house, they describe him as a thief.

"Lend me fifty cash," he says.
"We don't possess a single one," they reply.
"I will repay you next month," he says.
"Nonsense, nonsense," they reply.

[Current in Kiukiang, Kiangsi.]

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手　有　己　趕　錢　親　哥
隔　有　不　有　如　有
一　丈　上　娘　沒　嫂
隻　夫　自　有　有　有

Elder brother has money, sister-in-law has money, but I myself have as good as nothing. Father has money, mother has money, but I myself do not attain to the possession of any. My husband has money, but none of it reaches his wife's hand.

[This is also from Kiukiang. It is supposed to advocate the economic independence of married women.]

家　時　湯　流　裳　上　黃　黃　黃
鄉　到　湯　水　黃　洗　河　利　利
我　幾　鳴　河　衣　岸　黃　黃

"*Huang li huang, Huang li huang!*" I wash clothes on the bank of the Yellow River. The water of the Yellow River flows babbling by;—when shall I too return to my home?

["*Huang li huang*" is the name of the song. It was composed in the last year of Chia Ching of the Ming dynasty by Lu Jan of Hsün Hsien, Honan, and printed in the *Mieh méng chi*, "Collection by a Small Fly." Although not now heard in the district, it is preserved in the literary encyclopædias.]

我　攘　个　咬　狗　抓　猫　麼　的　垛　上　小
摟　花　我　睡　我　睡　過　孩　沒　柴　白
摟　花　娶　狗　跟　猫　跟　怎　娘　禾　鷄

A small white hen flies up on to the pile of firewood. Without a mother, how can a child live? If I sleep with the cat, the cat will scratch me; if I sleep with the dog, the dog will bite me. I must take a young and beautiful step-mother to look after me.

[Current in Ch'ing-ho, Chihli, and Lin-ch'ing, Shantung. By "taking a step-mother," the youngster indicates his wish for his father's re-marriage.]

小　老　鼠
上　燈　台
偷　油　吃
下　不　來
知　道　下
不　來　不
該　上　燈
台　上　去
不　該　不
下　來

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A little mouse goes up on to the lamp-frame in order to eat the oil, but cannot get down again. If he had known that he could not get down, he would not have gone up. But, having gone up, he ought to come down again.

[This song which, like most of these ditties has several variations, is current in the same districts as the preceding one. The Chinese text here omits the usual ending: "Fetch the cat to help her down."]

打 一 一 老 的 花 的 麼 死 打 喝 一 我 你
成 鍋 鍋 婆 娶 婆 娶 過 老 老 喝 壺 是 是
鑼 放 拉 吃 個 沒 個 有 婆 婆 酵 咱 哥 兄
屁 拉 吃 爛 錢 花 錢 怎 打 了 倆 打 弟

You are my younger brother; I am your elder brother: let us have a kettle of wine together. When we are drunk, we beat our wives; but, if they die from our beatings, how shall we get our living? If we have money, we will marry beautiful ones; if we are poor, we will marry ugly ones. Drink! drink a jug! Bring! bring a jug! Give a belch, and strike the gong!

[Current in Lin-ch'ing, this song is a hit at the dissipated habits of the Shantungese. The phrases 吃吃一鍋. 拉拉一鍋 taken together mean beginning another thing before finishing the previous one, here referring to the hypothetical re-marriages.]

(To be continued).

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"THE LUTE GIRL'S SONG"

Mr. WALEY's reply to Prof. GILES (*See p.* 281).

The Editor has kindly enabled me to reply to Prof. Giles' rejoinder.

(1) Prof. Giles finds it difficult to reconcile the poet's description of himself ("fever-stricken I reached this spot," etc.) with the comfortable situation which Po held at Kiukiang.

Surely such hyperbole is the commonplace of Chinese poetry ! Po Chü-i uses such language repeatedly in the poems he wrote during his exile ; so does Su Tung-p'o (with better reason) at Hui-chou.

(2) Prof. Giles says the character 行 is 'not associated with song except as derived from this famous poem.'

Has he never read the 短歌行 by the Emperor Wu of the Wei dynasty and the imitation of it under the same title by Li Po ? What of the ancient (certainly pre-T'ang) 君子行, 從軍行, 秋胡行, 東門行, 孤兒行 ? What of Li Po's 猛虎行, his 胡無人行, his 怨歌行 ? Of Tu Fu's innumerable 行 ?

(3) and (4) need no comment.

(5) I gladly accept Prof. Giles' account of how 攜 comes to mean 'trim.'

(9) I agree that 心 means the centre of the lute.

(14) I think 曲 means a 'piece of music' with or without words. I know that many readers of Prof. Giles' translation have got the impression that the girl *sang* ; and I still think that such expressions 'sing to us yet again' were strangely chosen if Prof. Giles realized all the while that the girl was *not* singing.

With regard to the *Great Summons* and the interpretation of 青春受謝, Prof. Giles must surely know that distinguished educationalists in China (as elsewhere) are not necessarily experts in the byeways of ancient literature. I see no reason for ac-

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cepting a judgement made off-hand, and possibly out of politeness. How can 受 mean 'come'? 謝, in the sense of giving up one's post is seen in the Book of Rites* 大夫七十而致事. 若不得謝必賜之几杖: Cf. also in the 公羊傳: 謝國乎季子 'He resigned in favour of Chi-tzŭ'. I therefore take 受謝 to mean 'to take on a job that some one else has vacated.' This is at any rate an attempt to reach the meaning by the proper route. Any one who says that 受 means 'to come' must quote other passages to prove it. I know of no usage of the word which does not roughly correspond to 'receive' or 'contain.'

As to the 詩品, Prof. Giles must think very ill of his own translation if he resents the suggestion that it should be compared with the original. I had indeed intended to print a study of this poem, but I have recently learnt that the matter is in hands far more experienced and competent than mine.

Finally I will deal with the line 冠帶自相索. 'Of course,' says Prof. Giles, 'the word has here its original meaning of rope.'

Now, this sort of thing will not do. When Prof. Giles wishes to emend my versions, unless they are palpably and obviously wrong, he must support his emendations by philological authority of some kind. No doubt the readers of the *Cambridge Review* all believed that Prof. Giles was right and I was wrong. It would surprise them to learn that I have on my side such authority as absolutely clinches the question. Prince Chao-ming, the compiler (in the 6th century) of the *Wên Hsüan* says: 索求也. 言冠帶之人自相追求也 "*So* means 'to seek'; the poet says that the high officials follow and seek one another." I had this commentary before me when I made my translation. Prof. Giles must surely be aware that it exists; yet he flatly tells the world that I do not know Chinese, without taking the trouble to ascertain whether his own guess was right or wrong. If he disagrees with the *Wên Hsüan*, the earliest existing commentary on the poem, he must state his reasons; and these reasons must be cogent indeed if Prof. Giles is to find any one to agree with him. For my part, I regard the mere pitting of one assertion against another as a complete waste of time. It is certainly a game which, were I Professor Giles, I should be ashamed to play: the advantage is too heavily on his side. For his prestige is world-wide; whereas mine is non-existent.

* Couvreur, *Li Ki*, p. 9.

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A T'ANG MANUSCRIPT OF THE *SOU SHÊN CHI*

BY

LIONEL GILES

Dr. W. Perceval Yetts' note on the 搜神記 *Sou shên chi** reminds me that some time ago, among the Chinese MSS. in the Stein collection at the British Museum, I discovered a roll bearing that title (now catalogued as S. 525). Although it is only a comparatively short fragment, it will be worth while, perhaps, to examine the contents, in the hope that it may shed even a feeble ray of light on the vexed questions surrounding the work of 干寶 Yü Pao† as it has come down to us. In the first place, however, I propose to clear the ground by a survey of the information, hitherto available and as yet untranslated, concerning the author and his book. The following is the biography given in the *Chin shu*, chüan 82, f. 9 v° ‡ :—

"Kan Pao (T. 令升 Ling-shêng) was a native of 新蔡 Hsin-ts'ai.§ His grandfather 統 T'ung was a gallant general

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*N. C. R., Vol. III, p. 65.

†It will be observed that I adopt the alternative form of this name which has hitherto found least favour with Chinese bibliographers. Ch'ien Lung's catalogue of the Imperial Library prefers the form 干 Kan; so do the two recensions of the work itself which I have consulted, as well as the *T'u shu chi ch'êng* and other encyclopædias, and also the modern editions of the *Chin* and *T'ang shu*, while both forms are found in the *Sui shu*. This evidence, however, counts for very little if we consider how easily the two characters could be confused by a careless scribe or block-cutter; and in weighing probabilities, it must be remembered that 干 is a much commoner surname than 干. No author's name appears on the present roll, but in another MS. from Tunhuang (S. 1086)—model answers to examination questions, dating from the 7th or 8th century—we find, among numerous works quoted, 干寶晉紀總論 "*Chin chi tsung lun* by Yü Pao." The surname here is very clearly written.

‡The edition of the Dynastic Histories which I use is that issued in 1878 by the 金陵書局印行.

§Near Kiukiang in the modern Kiangsi.

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of the Kingdom of Wu, and 都亭侯 Marquis of the Pavilions of the capital.*

His father 瑩 Ying was 丞 deputy-governor (?) of 丹陽 Tan-yang. †

As a boy, Pao was diligent in study and a great reader of historical documents. His abilities gained for him the appointment of 著作郎 *Chu-tso-lang*.‡ Having done good service in the suppression of 杜弢 Tu Tao's rebellion,§ he was rewarded with the dignity of Marquis of 關內 Kuan-nei. In the early days of the revival of the Empire [i.e., the establishment of the Eastern Chin dynasty in 317], before the office of historiography had been created, the President of the Privy Council 王導 Wang Tao presented the following memorial . . . [advising the institution of a separate department for the compilation of State history]. Kan Pao and others had been steadily working at the compilation of the Imperial records, and Yüan Ti was graciously pleased to accept them. It was now that Pao received his appointment as State historian. Owing to family poverty, however, he sought and obtained the magistracy of 山陰 Shan-yin [Shaohsing in Chekiang], whence he was promoted to be governor of 始安 Shih-an [Kweilin in Kwangsi]. Wang Tao invited him to become Junior Chang-shih of the Board of Civil Office (司徒右長史), and finally he was promoted to the rank of 散騎常侍

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*i.e., Nanking. The great noblemen under the Han dynasty received 縣 district cities as their fiefs, while to the lesser nobles was allotted the revenue derived from 鄉 villages and 亭 the pavilions or rest-houses which, according to the regulations of the time, were to be found at a distance of every 10 *li* along the highways. There also appears to have been a number of them in all the great cities: thus, there was a rest-house in each of the twenty main thoroughfares, and by each of the twelve city gates of Loyang. The institution began with the appointment of Ts'ao Ts'ao as 費亭侯 Marquis of the Pavilions of Pi towards the close of the 2nd century A.D., but after the Chin dynasty no more is heard of these *t'ing-hou*.

†I do not know what town is meant, unless it be 丹陽 Tan-yang in Chinkiang Fu.

‡Compiler of records. In the Han dynasty, state history was compiled in the 東觀 Library of National Archives, but the task was assigned to no special official until the reign of Ming Ti of the Wei dynasty (227-240), when the post of *chu-tso-lang* was first created. Under the Chin dynasty this became a regular department (曹), which in the Sung period took the name 史館.

§See *Chin shu*, ch. 100, ff. 9 seq. This rebellion broke out in the beginning of 311, and was not finally suppressed by 陶侃 T'ao K'an until the autumn of 315.

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*San-ch'i-ch'ang-shih.** He wrote the 晉紀 "Annals of the [Western] Chin dynasty," from 宣帝 Hsüan Ti† to 愍帝 Min Ti, a period of 53 years,‡ in 30 chüan,§ which was duly laid before the throne. This work is terse and compendious, straightforward and yet tactful. The author was universally acclaimed as a good historian. Temperamentally inclined to the arts of magic and divination, he used to ponder over the lives of 京房 Ching Fang (77-37 B.C.), 夏侯勝 Hsia Hou-shêng,¶ and others.

Pao's father had in former days had a favourite handmaid, of whom his mother was so bitterly jealous that when the father died she forced the girl into the same tomb, there to be buried alive. Pao and his brother were quite young at the time and remained ignorant of this fact until, more than ten years later, the tomb was opened again for their mother's funeral, and the handmaid was found lying prone on the coffin as though there were still life in her. She was carried back to the house, and the next day she revived. She told them that the father had supplied her regularly with food and drink, showing the same tenderness and affection as in his lifetime, and had also kept her informed as to the fortunes of the family, whether good or bad. Upon investigation, all that she had thus learned was found to be quite true.℘ She said, moreover, that she had felt no sensation

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* Ch'in Shih Huang established the *san-ch'i* and also the 中常侍 *chung-ch'ang-shih*. Both these classes of officials were originally personal attendants of the Emperor, and were recruited amongst the gentry: the former rode beside the Imperial carriage, the latter escorted his Majesty when entering or leaving the Palace. Under the Western Han, these duties were combined with other official functions, but during the Eastern Han dynasty a special department of *san-ch'i* was created, while the duties of *chung-ch'ang-shih* were performed by eunuchs. Under the Wei and Chin dynasties, the two offices were united under the name of *san-ch'i-ch'ang-shih*, the holders being again selected from the ranks of the gentry. It was regarded as a post of high distinction.

† This is Ssŭ-ma I, the famous opponent of Chu-ko Liang; he received canonisation when his grandson Yen founded the Western Chin dynasty.

‡ Ssŭ-ma I died in 251, and Min Ti came to the throne in 313, so that 53 would seem to be a mistake for 63. But if the reign of Min Ti is included, as one would certainly expect, the period would be four years longer.

§ The *Sui shu* (ch. 33) mentions the *Chin chi* by Yü Pao, in 23 chüan. The *Chiu t'ang shu* (ch. 46) and the *Hsin t'ang shu* (ch. 58) both give it 22 chüan, and the latter calls the work *Chin* 晉 *shu*.

¶ For Ching Fang, see Giles, Biog. Dict. 398. Hsia Hou-shêng, an earlier contemporary, was also a seer of great repute, who became Grand Tutor to the Heir Apparent. See *Han shu*, ch. 75, f. 1-7; 88, f. 8.

℘ Professor de Groot, who quotes the anecdote in "The Religious System of China," vol. IV, p. 126, has wrongly translated this passage: "In the house she foretold now and then happy and unhappy events, and those predictions were all fulfilled."

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of horror at being underground. Later on, she was given in marriage and had children.

On another occasion, Pao's elder brother was taken ill, and his breathing stopped, yet after several days had elapsed his body was not cold. By and by he came to life again and said that he had been a spectator in the world of spirits between heaven and earth. It had seemed to him like a dream, and he was not conscious of being dead.*

These events led Pao to make a compilation of marvellous tales, ancient and modern, dealing with the spirits of heaven and earth and the metamorphoses of men and things, which he entitled *Sou shên chi* ("A record of researches in the spirit world"). It comprised 30 chüan. When he showed the work to 劉惔 Liu T'an, the latter exclaimed: "My dear Sir, you may be styled the 董狐 Tung Hu of ghosts!" †

Since Pao made his selection from a great variety of sources, his book contains a mixture of truth and fiction, and therefore he wrote a preface in which his feeling on the subject is set forth . . . [The preface is given in full. Yü Pao will not answer for the truth

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* The story is told with more detail in the 繪圖歷代神仙傳 *Hui t'u li tai shên hsien chuan*, ch. 7: "About that time, 于慶 Yü Ch'ing, district magistrate of 武寧 Wu ning, died, and after three days had not yet been put into his coffin 吳猛. Wu Mêng went to make lamentation, but subsequently declared: "This man was not fated to die so soon; I must lay a complaint before God." Thereupon he stretched himself out beside the corpse [and his spirit departed]. A few days later, the spirits of both men returned together. The weather happened to be excessively hot, and Yü Ch'ing's body had begun to putrefy, so that his spirit was disgusted and unwilling to re-enter it. Wu Mêng, however, pushed it in by main force, and they both came to life again."

† According to the *Chin shu*, ch. 75, Liu T'an (T. 眞長) was a physiognomist of the principality of 沛 P'ei in the modern Kiangsu. Highly esteemed by Wang Tao, and an intimate friend of the calligraphist Wang Hsi-chih, he himself was a great admirer of 桓溫 Huan Wên, whose brilliant successes he foretold. He died at the early age of 36, and 孫綽 Sun Ch'o composed the following epitaph (誄) on him, which I offer as a nice little conundrum to the readers of the N.C.R.:—

居官無官官之事
處事無事事之心

Tung Hu was an official historian of the Chin State. In 606 B.C., Ling Kung made several attempts to assassinate his Prime Minister 趙盾 Chao Tun, who, however, managed to escape. Soon after, Ling Kung was slain by Chao Tun's cousin Chao 穿 Ch'uan, whereupon Tun returned, but took no steps to punish the crime. Tung Hu made the following entry: "Chao Tung slew his prince." The latter denied the truth of this statement, but Tung Hu replied: "Sir, you are the Prime Minister. You fled, but did not cross the frontier. On your return, you did not punish the assassin. If it was not you who slew the prince, who was it?"—Confucius' comment was: "Tung Hu was a good historian of old. He made it a rule not to conceal the truth." See *Tso chuan*, 宣公 II, § 4. In Ku-liang's commentary he is called 史狐 "Historian Hu."

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of all the stories in his book, which was pieced together from defective materials and does not claim to represent the personal experience, aural or ocular, of any individual witness (蓋非一耳一目之所親聞覩也). Even in the compilation of State history, the difficulty of obtaining reliable first-hand evidence is very great; how much greater when the events narrated go back a thousand years into the past and lie quite outside ordinary experience 況仰述千載之前記殊俗之表). On the whole, however, he thinks that what he has selected out of the mass of documents available is sufficient to prove that it is not the way of spiritual beings to delude us. (亦足以明神道之不誣也).]

Other works of Kan Pao are 春秋左氏義外傳 *Ch'un ch'iu tso shih i wai chuan*, and commentaries on the 周易 *Chou i* and 周官 *Chou kuan*, * comprising altogether several tens of volumes.† His miscellaneous writings have also been collected and published."

The next passage to be translated is the notice in the 四庫全書總目 *Ssŭ k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu*, ch. 142, f. 12 seq.:—

"*Sou shên chi* in 20 chüan: Library of the Imperial Palace. The old text has the ascription: 'Written by Kan Pao of the Chin dynasty.' Pao's style was Ling-shêng, and he was a native of Hsin-ts'ai. In the time of the Emperor Yüan [317-323], when acting as *Chu-tso-lang*, he received the appointment of State historiographer, and was afterwards promoted to the post of *San ch'i ch'ang shih*. The details of his official career are given in his biography in the *Chin shu*, where it is related that Pao was moved to write this book by the restoration to life of his father's concubine. It is a collection of marvellous tales, ancient and modern, dealing with the spirits of heaven and earth and the metamorphoses of men and things. The whole of his own preface to the work is also contained in this biography. It is stated in the bibliographical section of the Sui history, as well as in those of the

* These three works are all mentioned in the bibliographical sections of the Sui and the two T'ang histories. The *Chou i* was in 10 chüan, he *Chou kuan* 禮 *li* in 12. The third work is called in the *Sui shu* "春秋左氏函傳義 *Ch'un ch'in tso shih han chuan i* in 15 chüan, by Yü Pao," while in the T'ang histories it figures as "春秋義函傳 *Ch'un ch'iu i han chuan* in 16 chüan, by Kan Pao". A companion work, 春秋序論 *Ch'un ch'iu hsü lun*, in 2 chüan, is also noted.

† The word is 篇, here evidently equivalent to 卷. The term "several tens" (數十) occurs so frequently in Chinese that it may be worth while to note that it stands here for something between 30 and 40.

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Old and New T'ang histories, that the book comprises 30 *chüan*,* whereas the Sung bibliography has "*Sou shên* 搜神 記 *tsung chi* in 10 *chüan*." It also names Pao as the author. The 崇文 總目 *Ch'ung wên tsung mu* † has "*Sou shên tsung chi* in 10 *chüan*, but gives no author's name, and adds that the attribution to Kan Pao is mistaken. [For this passage, see 玉海 *Yü hai*, ch. 57, f. 32 v°.]

The present text was cut on blocks by 胡震亨 Hu Chên-hêng‡ for inclusion in his 秘册彙函 *Pi ts'e hui han*, and later on the blocks came into the possession of 毛晉 Mao Chin who incorporated the work in his 津逮秘書 *Ching tai pi shu*. The quotations in the 太平廣記 *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* § agree word for word with this edition . . .

The *Ssŭ k'u* goes on to indicate a number of tales or episodes quoted as from the S.S.C. in various works of antiquity, beginning with the 三國志註 *San kuo chih chu* of 裴松 P'ei Sung. The majority of these are still to be found in the S.S.C. as we know it to-day, e.g., the story of 于吉 Yü Chi, which is given in the biography of 孫策 Sun Ts'ê in the 吳志 *Wu-chih*. ¶ On the other hand, certain discrepancies are noted ⁂, as well as a few tales which have disappeared from the present text.]

Turning now to the 6th and 7th *chüan*, we find that these have been simply copied from the sections on Elementary In-

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* *Sui shu*, ch. 33, f. 13 v° ; *Chiu t'ang shu*, ch. 46, f. 30 v° ; *Hsin t'ang shu*, ch. 59, f. 12 v°. We may also observe that, whereas the first two place the work under the 史 division (sub-section 雜傳 in the *T'ang shu*), in the *Hsin t'ang shu* it is classed under 小說 of the 子 division, as it is in the *Ssŭ k'u ch'uan shu*.

† Compiled in 1034 by 王堯臣 Wang Yao-ch'ên and others.

‡ Of the early 17th century. Correct Wylie's "Notes," *p.* 241, which has 享 for 亨.

§ A huge collection of extracts, compiled in 977 A.D., from no fewer than 345 different works, mostly dealing with the marvellous and the supernatural. It is divided into 55 categories, and comprises 500 *chüan*. Several stories from the S.S.C. will be found in ch. 359.

¶ See *San kuo chih*, ch. 46, f. 9r,° comm., and S.S.C. I, §22. The wording is almost exactly the same. Yü Chi was a Taoist adept of 琅琊 Lang-yeh who used to make 符水 magic water to cure diseases. His name is given as 于 Kan Chi in the S.S.C., and it seems very probable that he was an ancestral relative of Yü Pao. The *Wu chih* also quotes an account of his disgrace and execution from the 江表傳 *Chiang piao chuan*, which differs in many particulars from that in the S.S.C.

⁂ E.g., 太平寰宇記 *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* makes 韓憑 Han P'ing and his wife turn into butterflies, not into mandarin ducks as in S.S.C. XI, § 32.

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fluences in the two Han histories.* Now, although Ssŭ-ma Piao lived earlier than Pao, who was therefore bound to have seen his *Hsü han shu*, yet the way the existence of this author is ignored, paragraph after paragraph being copied without the alteration of a single word, is a highly suspicious circumstance. Nevertheless, the composition of the book shows much of the elegance of antiquity, and the dissertations contained in it could not have been penned by any one not belonging to the 'Six Dynasties' period [220-587]. In this respect it is unlike other spurious works; and we may surmise that it consists of such fragmentary portions [of the original S.S.C. by Yü Pao] as were quoted in other works, carefully pieced together and transmitted in different words, somewhat after the fashion of the 博物志 *Po wu chih* and the 述異記 *Shu i chi*. The compilers of those two books, however, were persons of narrow outlook and small culture (耳目陰陋), whose deficiencies showed themselves at every turn, whereas the man responsible for the present work had a wide acquaintance with ancient literature and a considerable mastery of style, so that his writings are polished and pleasant to read, and without close scrutiny cannot be detected as a forgery.

The story of 謝尚 Hsieh Shang who had no son,† which appears in the book, is quoted in the *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, chüan 322, with the note that it is taken from 誌怪錄 *Chih kuai lu*. Here we have clear evidence that the work is a mere compilation [from previously existing books].‡ Hu Chêng-hêng in his postface only says of Hsieh Shang that he was made 鎮西將軍 'General Protector of the West§ in the *Yung-ho* period of the reign of Mu Ti [345-57 A.D.] But Pao showed this book to Liu

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* *Han shu*, ch. 27; *Hou han shu*, ch. 13-18. 全錄兩漢書五行志 cannot mean "are complete copies of," etc., as there is a great deal in these chapters that does not appear in the S.S.C. On the other hand, it seems doubtful whether the whole of the two *chüan* is made up of extracts from the Histories. I have identified a few passages, but owing to the lack of any order the task is an extremely laborious one. Be that as it may, the abridged version of Ch'ien Lung's catalogue (*Ssŭ k'u ch'uan shu chien ming mu lu*, ch. 14, f. 30 v°), followed by Wylie, "Notes," p. 192, is wrong in stating that "the 6th and 7th books are extracted *verbatim* from the supplement to the Han history." The missing 志 of the *Hou han shu* were supplied, as is well known, by those of the 續漢書 *Hsü han shu* of 司馬彪 *Ssü-ma Piao* (240-305 A.D.), and these were certainly utilised by the author of the S.S.C.; but he also drew upon the 志 of the *Han shu*, and in neither case are the quotations strictly literal.

† S.S.C. II, § 17.

‡ 是則掇拾之明證. Further proof is found in the British Museum manuscript, where, as we shall see, the sources of many of the stories are indicated.

§ As he is styled in the S.S.C.

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T'an, who died in the *T'ai-ning* period of the reign of Ming Ti [323-6], so that the book must have been in existence more than twenty years before Shang was invested with the title of General Protector of the West. One would suspect that this anecdote was added by a later hand, though it is not yet established that it did not form part of the original work.*

胡應麟 Hu Ying-lin† in his 甲乙剩言、*Chia i shêng yen* says: "姚叔祥 Yao Shu-hsiang, when looking at the catalogue of my private library, saw the entry of Kan Pao's *Sou shên chi*. Much astonished, he exclaimed: 'Does this book really exist then?'—I replied in the affirmative, but when he saw it he said: 'What you have here is nothing more than a number of extracts copied out of various works such as the 法苑 [珠林] *Fa yüan* [*chu lin*], the [太平] 御覽 [*T'ai p'ing*] *Yü lan*, the 藝文 *I wên*, and manuals for young students. There is no question of its having been preserved in a metal coffer or a stone cupboard,‡ or having been unearthed from some cave in the recesses of a mountain. Generally speaking, all the later books of marvels are of this type'. These words are just."

(*To be continued*).

* A much more serious anachronism, which appears to have escaped the notice of Chinese critics, occurs in S.S.C. I, §8: 前周募由蜀羌人也周成王時 . . . "Ko Yu of the Former Chou dynasty was a man of the Ch'iang tribe in the country' of Shu; in the time of Ch'êng Wang "[1115-1078 B.C.], etc.—'Former Chou' implies of course that at the time of writing there had been a 後周 'Later Chou.' Now, there were two later dynasties of this name, the one more generally known as Northern Chou (557-581), and the other the Posterior Chou of 951-960. Thus, even if the latter is ruled out, we are carried down more tha two centuries later than Yü Pao and very near to the end of the 'Six Dynasties' period.

† A prolific poet who failed for the second degree in 1576. There is a brief mention of him in the biography of 王世貞 Wang Shih-chêng, *Ming shih*, ch. 287, f. 14.

‡ That is to say, it has not been treasured up as a genuine relic of antiquity. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien (*Shih chi*, ch. 130) speaks of 石室金匱之書; and again, towards the end of the same chapter: 秦燔去古文,焚滅詩書,故明堂石室金匱王版圖藏散. "Ch'in [Shih Huang] got rid of the ancient literature and destroyed by fire the Canons of Poetry and History; thus the jade (inscribod) tablets, and the maps and books from the stone chambers and metal presses of the Imperial Museum were scattered in all directions."

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A NOTE ON THREE CHINESE GOLD COINS.

By

Sir J. STEWART LOCKHART, K.C.M.G.

Certain gold coins have come into my possession, a description of which may be of interest to students of Chinese Numismatics. As is well known, gold coins have never previously formed a part of the currency of China, a fact which makes their appearance at the present time especially interesting.

The first of the coins to which reference has been made was issued by Yuan Shih-k'ai and was offered for a price to Mr. A. B. Lowson, Manager of the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank at Tientsin, who kindly secured it for me. It was minted in the early part of 1916 by the mint at Tientsin and it is said that only 2,000 specimens were issued. These were all sent to Yuan Shih-k'ai who is supposed to have distributed them to members of his own family, to a few of his friends and to officials high in authority as souvenirs of his accession to the Imperial throne of China.

The obverse has an image of Yüan Shih-k'ai in military uniform. The reverse has in the centre a flying dragon: at the top 中華帝國 *Chung Hua Ti Kuo*, The Empire of China, at the bottom 洪憲紀元 *Hung Hsien Chi Yüan*, first year of the reign of Hung Hsien, and to the right and left 拾圓 *Shih Yüan*—Ten dollars.

The coin is well minted and weighs 2 *ch'ien* 1 *fên* and 8 *li*.*

The three remaining gold coins in my possession were issued in the province of Yünnan by T'ang Chi-yao and were kindly obtained for me by Mr. A. G. Washbrook of the Chinese Postal Service †

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*This coin is described and figured in a paper by Dr. Giuseppe Ros, in the N.C.B.R.A.S. Journal, 1917, p. 143. (Editor).

†The T'ang Chi-yao gold coins were written on by Mr. Tracy Woodwar in the June number of this *Review* (p. 229) with a plate. This supplementary note with its additional information will be welcome to numismatists.(Editor).

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Two of these coins, worth ten dollars each, are different in colour, one of them being marked 1 whilst the other has no number. The third coin, which is worth five dollars, is marked 2.

The obverse of the coins has an image of T'ang Chi-yao with *Chün Wu Yüan Fu Chün Chang T'ang* (軍務院撫軍長唐) and the reverse *Yung Hu Kung Ho Chi Nien Chin Pi* (擁護共和紀念金幣); *Tang Yin Pi Shih Yüan* (當銀幣拾圓).

When the coins were first placed on the market, the Chinese regarded them as brass and refused to accept them, but after having been warned that those who refused them at their face value would be well punished, they accepted them and the coins became current in the towns but not in the country, where silver is invariably demanded.

The following extract from the Mengtsz Trade Report for 1919* by Mr. Albert Pichon, Acting Commissioner of Customs, gives full and interesting information regarding these coins :—

Extract from

MENGTSZ TRADE REPORT FOR 1919

by

ALBERT PICHON,

Acting Commissioner of Customs.

Dated 24th March, 1920.

Para. 1°, page 1328.

"To make up for the stringency of the money market . . . "the provincial Mint issued gold. Something had to be done "to prevent a rush on the local government official *Futien* Bank, "whose notes were becoming practically the only currency, so "the authorities imported gold bars, gold leaves, British sove- "reigns, and American gold dollars, and these were turned into "a $10 gold coin, which has been put on the market to relieve "the uneasiness that was growing. These came out towards the "end of October. As the value of silver had reached an excep- "tionally high price, gold as coins was cheaper, and by issuing "them the Mint Authorities hoped that it would remain in "the province because the melting of these coins to take out "the pure gold would not be a profitable operation. Assays "of these $10 gold coins have been made and their value comes "to about 8 silver dollars. The coin is reported officially to "contain 25 cents of a K'up'ing tael weight of pure gold.

*See Returns of Trade and Trade Reports, 51st issue 1919, Part II, Port Trade Statistics & Reports, Vol V, Lungchou to Tengyueh, page 1328.

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" In all it is said that $9,000,000 worth of these coins have been
" placed in the market but they have not as yet been accepted
" by the peasants, who believe them to be of brass, and they
" therefore would for choice rather take a bank-note. This
" prejudice will certainly not last when they have realized that
" the coins really contain gold and that they are worth nearly
" as much as the silver piece. Other gold coins of the value of
" $5, weighing 12½ cents of the K'up'ing tael weight, have been
" promised but have not yet put in an appearance. These bank-
" notes and gold coins have now been accepted by all at their
" full face value, including the two French banks, the Banque
" de l'Indo-Chine and the Banque Industrielle, with no market
" fluctuations, and this with the promise of the provincial govern-
" ment to guarantee all the notes and gold coins placed on the
" market."

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ON THE ORIGIN OF THE IDEO-PHONETIC CHARACTERS.

BY

LÉOPOLD DE SAUSSURE

It is known that the ideo-phonetic characters 形聲字 *hsing-shêng-tzŭ* (one part indicating the sound and another part the nature of the object) form the most numerous category of the Chinese characters. In the 說文 they are already 21,810 out of a total of 24,235 characters; and since the beginning of our era their number has been continually increasing, for it is the ideo-phonetic principle which is used in the composition of the neologisms and technical terms.

Several authors have pointed out that, in a certain number of these characters, the phonetic part possesses also a semantic meaning. All the sinologues, however, do not agree on this point. * And, on the other hand, those who admit this semantic meaning seem to suppose that, amongst the disposable phonetics, a choice has been intentionally made in order to get a phonetic fortuitously convenient for indicating together the sound and the idea. Thus, in the Introduction of his dictionary Wells Williams writes (p. lviii):

> This combination of a *radical* and a *primitive* to form the great mass of the Chinese characters, whether the latter half is used as a mere phonetic as in [illegible], or *to aid the sense* of the derivative †, as in [illegible], is an important part of the language.

Pelliot, in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, rejected this explanation:

"When, in a Chinese character, the part joined to the radical answers exactly to its phonetic role—and it is here the case—I

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* In the *T'oung Pao* 1913 (p. 493) the R. P. Vanhée, S.J., writes:
In his *Chinese Art*, Bushell had said:
"Copper, however, was not often used alone, but alloyed with tin (*hsi*) in various proportions to make bronze. Bronze has been known in China from prehistoric times under the name of *t'ung* [銅], a compound character which seems originally to have meant 'mixed metal.'"

† *Primitive* and *derivative* are used by Williams in a special sense. For him 東 is a *primitive* composed of two *derivatives*.

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do not think that a semantic destination may be, simultaneously, attributed to it."

Owing to this authority, Bushell has slightly modified his text. The second edition reads: "Bronze has been known in China since the prehistoric times, under the name of *t'ung* 同, which seems, at the origin, to have meant *mixed metal;* the radical 金 *kin* of the modern combined character having been added later."

In answer to the Note of Father Vanhée I have recalled (in the same volume, p. 808) that, in the *T'oung Pao* 1910 (p. 244), I had expressed a general explanation of this kind of characters.

The explanation that I have given in several notes of my *Origines de l'astronomie chinoise* is quite different. It is precisely the use of the Wells Williams' Dictionary which led me to it; for, since thirty years, in running over this Syllabic Dictionary, I have been struck by the groups of homonym and homophon words where the so-called phonetic represents manifestly the original word, to which various radicals have been later added in order to discriminate, one from another, the different senses derived from this genuine word. Thus, for instance, one reads, at page 564 of Williams' Dictionary :

侖 LUN. Composed of 亼 or 𠆢 to *collect* and 冊 *archives*; it is chiefly used in combination as a phonetic.
To think, to arrange, to unify.
倫 Constant, regular, . . . to choose.
圇 Finished, complete, entire.
崙 The long range of the Koulkoun Mountains.
掄 To choose, to select, to come in turn.
淪 An eddy, a whirl in the water, chaotic . . . 混 淪 chaos.
綸 To compare, to classify . . .
輪 . . . To take in turn, to roll around.
稐 To bind grain in sheaves [to classify].
論 . . . To reason, to think over.

The meaning of these words (to choose, to class, to arrange, to think) is evidently derived from the general meaning *to arrange* of the primitive genuine word 侖, the ideogram of which means *to collect*. Therefore, the sign 侖 does not figure, in these words, as a phonetic but rather as the genuine hieroglyph, to which a classifying radical has been later added in order to distinguish, one from the other, the various shades of meaning considered, since an epoch probably very ancient, as autonom words.

For one of these derivatives, 崙, we can documentarily fix under the Chou dynasty the epoch when it was erected into an autonom word. At first sight it seems that, in the name 崑 崙

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K'un lun of the range of mountains lying on the north of Tibet, 昆侖 is merely the phonetic transcription of a foreign toponymic term, joined to the radical 山 according to the normal rule of the ideo-phonetic characters. But it is not so. In the 竹書紀年 and in the 穆天子傳, these mountains are called 昆侖邱 and I have shown that this name (probably abbreviated from 昆侖圜邱) seems to have meant : The world's end heights, whose confines are the canopy of the sky.* In the 爾雅 this name is already written 崑崙; later on, several countries† (then considered as the world's end) have been called 崑崙. But the expression 昆侖 has still conserved the meaning of *the canopy of the sky* (See *K'ang hsi's* and Williams' Dictionaries).

崙 is therefore, as well as 侖 or 稐, a character belonging to the category in question, where the so-called phonetic represents the genuine form of the word. It is the same with 崑; and also with 混 and 淪, for it is not fortuitously that the expression 混淪 means the chaos (See *K'ang hsi* and Williams); it means the liquid chaos of the four seas, at the world's end.

Numerous similar cases could be quoted, for instance, the character 圜 mentioned above : 睘 *kiüng* means *to gaze at*; and 圜 *hwan* means *what is gazed at* (the canopy of the sky), the deformation of *kiüng* into *hwan* being regular.

A typical example of this category of derivative words is 均, for in French and in English it has followed the same evolution as in Chinese, the uniform dress of the soldiers 兵勻衣 having given birth, by abbreviation, to the substantive "the uniform 均." Originally, 勻 (an *envelope* containing *two*) meant *equally divided*, wherefrom the derived sense of equal, alike, uniform. Therefore it is evident that, in the character 均, 勻 has not been *chosen* as a phonetic, but represents the genuine word *uniform*, of which the general sense has been applied to the particular case of the military uniform, wherefrom the autonom word "the uniform 均" arose. It is to be noted that the ancient pronunciation has been better conserved in this word, for it is evidently *yun* which proceeds from *kiün* and not *kiün* from *yun*.

The original term 勻 *equal, to equalize*, has also given rise to two other autonom forms : 均 and 鈞 *a lathe* for *moulding pottery*, because the lathe has, in effect, to regulate and to equalize the fabrication of the pottery.‡ These derivative terms have

* See L'étymologie de *K'ouen louen* in the *T'oung Pao* of October, 1921.

† Java, Madagascar, etc. See : G. Ferrand. *Le* K'ouen louen *et les navigations interocéaniques*, in the *Journal asiatique* 1919.

‡ For this reason the circumpolar heaven is named 鈞天 *the Regulating heaven*, the pole being thus compared to the lathe's axis (Cf. *Les origines de l'astronomie chinoise* in the *T'oung Pao* 1910, p. 244.)

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also conserved the original pronunciation (*kiŭn*) as well as the general sense *to equalize*, as it is shown in Williams' Dictionary, p. 418 :

> 𠀋 A soldier's dress or uniform.
> 均 A lathe for moulding pottery; equal, just. 均勻 uniform.
> 鈞 To equalize; a potter's lathe.

It is singular that Wells Williams, before so many conspicuous examples, has not understood their etymological origin and could believe that "the latter part is used to aid the sense, as in 𠀋."

This last example, otherwise, is excellent, for its etymological *raison d'être* is manifest. At the origin, a team of *four* horses was called "*a four*" (as in English a *four-in-hand*); later, in order to discriminate this special sense of *quadrige* from the general sense of *four*, it was natural to add the radical 馬 *horse* as a classifier of the word.

This class of characters, formed by the specialization of different meanings derived from a single word, is very ancient, as is shown by several examples.* It has not received a name, for its existence has not been hitherto pointed out; but it must be distinguished from the 形聲字 class to which it has later given birth.

It is, indeed, easy to understand how the formation of ideo-phonetic characters has been suggested. Let us consider a primitive ideogram A, having acquired several meanings *A*, *A*, *A*, to which semantic radicals *b*, *c*, *d*, were joined in order to distinguish them one from another :

bA, *cA*, *dA*.

When, later, the etymological origin of the common part *A*, *A*, *A*, was forgotten, its phonetic value only subsisted; one was then led to believe that this common part had been intentionally placed in order to indicate the sound. Thus, unconsciously and automatically, the ideo-phonetic principle constituted itself.*

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* It occurred exceptionally that, in order to distinguish two meanings of the same character, instead of choosing a classifier (as in 𠀋), a symbol forming a combined idea 𠀋 has been added, as is the case for 仁.

It is clear, indeed, that the word 仁 *jên* (humanity) is merely a special meaning of the word 人 *jên* (man). Though deprived of accurate views on the etymological evolution, the Chinese scholars point out this phonetic identity in saying : 仁者人也. *Humanity is man*, as Père Vanhée recalls it in the note above quoted. If, in order to distinguish *Humanity* from *Man*, the Chinese had proceeded as with 𠀋 they would have added the radical 心 (*heart*) which is the classifier of characters connected with feelings, and they would have obtained 𠀋 *human, humanity*.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

The Editor ventures thus early to ask the friends of the *Review* to do their best for it in the coming year. It can never be as popular as the *Strand Magazine* or *Scribner's*, and it can only be kept going by two changes—first, the circulation should be greater ; there are no doubt many people in China who would take the magazine in if they knew about it : readers are therefore asked to recommend it to their friends. If it is to the credit of Shanghai to produce such a respectable journal, and if there is any public spirit there, it may even be hoped that some wealthy citizens will order not only the one copy for their own library but a dozen more for distribution and for the encouragement of a useful publication.

The other desirable improvement is to increase the number of advertisements. Though Banks and Insurance Offices may hardly increase their business at all by such advertising it may be argued that they cannot afford to have their names absent from a high-class publication, and that it is even a public duty to support such a creditable local product.

The magazine has been an undoubted success for three years, and all readers are earnestly asked to help to make the fourth volume still better.

* * *

Our next number will contain an important study of Mexican Dollars by Mr. Woodward, papers by de Saussure (The Lunar Zodiac), Prof. E. H. Parker (Hsün Tzŭ 荀子), R. P. J. de la Servière (Une nouvelle Histoire de la Chine), Prof. H. A. Giles, etc., etc.

* * *

Special attention is called to the advertisement of "Chinese Life on the Tibetan Foothills," now obtainable in book form at the Far Eastern Geographical Establishment.

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Note by A. C. Moule.

Having occasion to fix the day in the Chinese Calendar of certain European dates I looked at the chronological tables at the end of Giles' Dictionary (1912); and having found what I wanted, I ungratefully went on to look at tables (*G*) and (*H*) and at the explanation thereof on p. 33. The Chinese dates which I wanted differed widely, as given in these tables, from those which I had found in P. Hoang's *Concordance*. After a little thought it occurred to me that the tables made no allowance for the correction of the European Calendar. In 1582, as is well known, the day following October 4 was October 15, and a corresponding change in all subsequent years must be made in the dates of table (*H*). This will be made clear by comparing Giles' equivalents for the 1st day of the 1st moon with those given by P. Hoang in five of the years specified in table (*G*):

Year	Giles	Hoang	New Moon (approx.)
1121	Jan. 23	Jan. 21	
1577	Jan. 23	Jan. 19	
1596	Jan. 23	Jan. 29	
1900	Jan. 23	Jan. 31	Jan. 30 (21h.)
1919	Jan. 23	Feb. 1	Jan. 31 (19h.)

P. Hoang is no doubt not infallible, but the small errors which have been found (in a book which provides 692 opportunities for error on each page) do not seriously affect his authority for the present purpose; and it will be noticed (1) that the first year of each lunar cycle of 19 years does not begin on the *same* solar date, (2) that the lunar year may begin before January 21—in 1580 P. Hoang makes it begin on January 16; (3) that in these five years Giles' date does not once correspond exactly with Hoang's. And in the 19th year of (*H*) one wonders how three consecutive Chinese moons can begin on January 5, February 5 and March 5, respectively, or two on August 28 and September 29. The table is in fact not only less reliable in method than one might wish, but it is not quite accurately printed. To end with a practical suggestion, it will be found, I think, that from the year 1633 onwards tables (*G*) and (*H*) will be approximately correct if one of two changes is made. *Either* deduct 2 from the years in (*G*), reading 1651, 1670, 1689, 1708, ecc.; *or* re-number the years in (*H*), reading 18, 19, 1, 2 . . . 17, in place of 1, 2, 3, 4 . . . 19. The Chinese year does begin on or about January 23 in 1651, 1670, etc., and on or about January 31 in 1653, 1672, etc. But owing to a change in the position of the

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intercalary moon, the year in 1632 began not on January 23, but on February 20. Before 1582 the tables may be used as they stand with a general error, compared with Hoang, of 2-4 days and an occasional error of a month; but they will of course need correction again in periods when the Chinese year began on quite abnormal dates. In 628 B.C., for example, with which table (*G*) begins, the *second* moon ended on January 17, and table (*H*) would give an error of about 9 weeks.

Tables (*I*), (*J*), (*K*), (*L*) seem to work more exactly then (*G*) and (*H*); but they too break down after 1582.

Notes by L. C. Arlington.

The Mystery of the Great State-Seal.

Considerable confusion exists in Chinese history as to the origin and ultimate fate of a seal apparently endowed—from a Chinese point of view—with supernatural powers. Discarding all the legendary nonsense about the Emperors Yao and Shun meeting with a yellow dragon and phoenix with an impression of the Yellow Emperor's royal seal stamped on their backs; or that of a swallow dropping the seal in a lady's workbasket, and her becoming an empress in consequence; or that of the woodcutter finding it in a bird's nest; we will begin the investigation of our seal from the 8th century B.C. Chinese authentic history goes back to about 750 B.C. Fairly clear tradition carries us some 350 years further, to the arrival of the Chous. Prior to that period, myth and tradition are so intermixed, that there is a difficulty in separating the two. Events that are dealt with like unstrung beads—broken that is, from the relation that threads them—may have some fragmentary, anecdotal interest in themselves, but they get us nowhere in the end. And such unstrung beads, unfortunately, we find in the investigation of the royal seal. According to Wei Hung (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2277), the first state seals were made of silver, gold or copper. But he does not give the date of their introduction. When it comes to the jade seal, we are, however, on firmer ground, although not out of the woods as will be seen in the sequel. For the more we study the subject, the more unexpected hares are started in every direction.

The original jade seal is said to have been made out of the famous jewel found by Pien Ho (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1650) at Ching shan (荆山) in the Ch'u (楚) state. The jewel was first presented to a Prince who declared it to be false, and Pien Ho was sentenced

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as an impostor to have his left foot cut off. When the next Prince came to the throne, Pien again presented the jewel, and with similar result, this time losing his right foot. But when the next Prince ascended the throne, Pien again submitted the stone, weeping tears of blood because a genuine stone had been declared false, and a loyal subject an impostor. It was again tested and found to be a valuable jade. Hence, it became known as the Ho family jewel (和氏之璧). This was the same stone that Lin Hsiang-ju sent back to his master Hui Wên when the Ch'in State pretended to offer several cities for it. The jewel is said to have remained in its original condition and shape without any inscription on it—although it is said to have been stolen, and mysteriously disappears and as mysteriously appears again and again,—until it comes into the possession of the First Emperor, Ch'in Shih Huang, who ordered Li Ssŭ, his Prime Minister, to engrave in the Lesser Seal characters—of which he was the inventor—the following inscription on it: 受命於天既壽永昌 "By the grace of God; may the reign be long and prosperous." It was two inches square and had five dragons beautifully carved on it to serve as a grip for the hand when used in sealing. During the troublous times of the Hans which divided the Empire for some forty years, the seal became lost. This is said to have occurred at the time the eunuchs assassinated Ho Chin, which ultimately brought about their own destruction at the hands of Yüan Shao. After Tung Cho's flight with the young Emperor, the seal was found by Sun Chien in a well at Loyang. To emphasize the supernatural powers of the seal, one authority says that Sun Chien saw a light shining in the well and upon dragging found the body of a beautiful woman in a perfect state of preservation. Round the neck of the body was a string to which was attached a casket, which upon opening was found to contain the royal seal. Sun Chien concealed it and finally handed it to his son Sun Ch'üan when he proclaimed himself Emperor of Eastern Wu. The seal when found in the well had one of the corners broken off, and was subsequently restored to its original shape by being patched with gold; hence, it became known as the "gold mounted jade seal" (金鎮玉璽). The chronological order of our seal's story from now on becomes more confusing than ever. Through all the successive dynasties it is recorded as being stolen, secretly hidden, it disappears and re-appears again and again, until it passes into the hands of the Sungs, when its history becomes more interesting. It is recorded that when Bayan, the Mongol General was marching to Hangchow, the capital, the traitor minister, Ch'ên I-chung (陳宜中) sent him the seal of the Empire. On

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top of this we have the statement that when the Empress-mother escaped with the two young Princes to Canton, she took the state seal with her. After the death of the elder Prince off Yai shan at Canton, the younger Prince was taken on board of a war junk by a general Liu Hsiu-fu, who, when attacked and defeated by the Mongol fleet, off Yai shan (崖山), plunged into the sea with the Prince on his back, the seal disappearing with him. In order to repair the apparent anachronism, the chronologists will have it that Ch'ên I-chung sent Bayan a false seal, and that the original disappeared with the last of the Sungs. It is likewise recorded that the Mongols dragged for the Prince's body, and in doing so, recovered the seal, but not the body.

Another version has it that the first Mongol Emperor had no seal for 16 years and then, omitting all the intervening Emperors, it was not till the 31st year of Chih Chêng that the seal was found. As the Emperor Hui Tsung only reigned for 27 years under the title Chih Chêng the chronologists are again at fault. Yet another version is that on the downfall of the Mongols, the state seal was sent to Mongolia by the last of the Mongols and concealed there. There would appear to be a grain of truth in this statement, since it is recorded that the subjugation of the Chahar Mongols was followed in 1635 by the submission of all the remaining tribes south of the Gobi, whose Chief Eje handed to T'ai Tsung the great state seal of China which had formerly been that of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. It is generally believed among the Chinese that the original jade seal found by Pien Ho in the 8th century B.C. and first used as the great state seal by Ch'in Shih Huang, is now in the possession of the ex-Emperor Hsüan T'ung; probably owing to its being known as the "Gold mounted jade seal." It is of course possible, but not probable, that the traitor Ch'en I-chung sent Bayan a false seal and that the genuine one disappeared with the last of the Sungs off Yaishan.

But if this is so, what about the Mings, were they without the so-called state seal? There are said to have been eight kinds of seals in use for the Emperors and their Consorts. One seal is said to have been unearthed by the workmen when repairing the dykes at K'aifêng in Honan in the 3rd moon of the 3rd year of the T'ang Emperor T'ung Kuang (A.D. 926), which on examination was found to be of the purest jade. It was two inches square, with the following characters engraven on it: 皇帝行寶. It was sent for inspection to all the scholars of the Empire but no trace of its origin could be discovered. Such are the bald facts regarding the seal, and nothing is mentioned as to its ultimate disposal.

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A Chinese proverb says "If one wishes to be acquainted with the past and present, he must read five cartloads of books." We do not profess to have read the five cartloads of books; but if there were only *one* book in which any important event was accurately noted in its order, the connection between events clearly shown, and the whole presented in a compendious manner, it would be the greatest assistance in contributing to the historical knowledge of China.

As it is at present. one has to read the whole of the five cartloads of books and be no wiser in the end than when he started.

The true facts probably are that each dynasty had its own state seal, and that the Pien Ho jewel and Ch'in Shih Huang's great state seal are pure myths. We are, of course, open to correction, and if anyone will gather together the unstrung beads and restring them in some sort of chronological order, he will undoubtedly earn the grateful thanks of all those who are interested in the subject.

A FEW CORRIGENDA

In Vol. II, p. 238, Mr. Werner translated 石路 as "side-walk." He now writes to say it should have been translated "Foochow Road."

This is one of the Editor's unaccountable oversights: for in the Shanghai pronunciation of the characters Shekloo or Shakloo is a well-known local road. As may now be read in the *History of Shanghai* (p. 450), the road received its foreign name in 1862, but it was the Fokien not the Foochow Road.

* * *

To come to the current year's issue, on p. 215, line 6, the character 骨 should be added after 皮.

A more important mistake is on p. 219, line 4, where the C of Cayton has been printed without the cedilla. Wadding prints 'Cayton'; Yule says the MS probably had 'Cayton' (with the cedilla); Mr. Moule's remark is in corroboration of Yule's guess.

This and other faults of a similar kind are due to the lack of special type in the printing office, and the difficulty and delay in getting such lack supplied from home. It is stated, however, that the long-expected types have at last arrived, and the romanized characters will be in correct form in future.

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The *International Review of Missions*, not knowing how few are the missionaries in China who read such a serious magazine as ours, asks us to pass on the following request, which we do with pleasure.

Missionaries are asked to send in a brief statement of the three (or more) problems which have given them most perplexity during the last few years with, if possible, the circumstances in which they have arisen, any clue which may lead to the solution, etc. Separate sheets should be used for each problem if notes are added, and the missionary's name, station, length of service, etc., should be given. The communications are to be addressed to the office of that Review, 2 Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Le Zodiaque lunaire asiatique : Le système astronomique des chinois.—Léopold de Saussure in Archives des Sciences Physiques et Naturelles, March-October, 1919. Geneva.

M. de Saussure has here developed in a most interesting series of papers a thesis as to the origin of Chinese astronomical technique which appears to be considerably more reliable than anything which has gone before it. He shows that, as the traditions indicate, the main object of the primitive observers was to produce a calendar and that this was done by noticing the relation of the seasons to the position of the *full* moon among the constellations. Since the full moon is in opposition to the sun this method gives a comparatively simple and accurate method of determining the position of the sun itself, especially if conjoined with a known opposition of certain *pairs* of stars. De Saussure endeavours to show that these star couples were the origin of the Hsü (宿) of which the number became 28, by association of ideas with the moon's daily path. Their inequality of width is then due to the more important requirement of exact opposition and not to primitive error or arbitrary variation. (The position of the sun among the stars can only be *directly* obtained, and then only with difficulty, by observation of the stars visible at dawn and twilight near to the rising or setting sun.) De Saussure shows that the stars chosen as references for the moon's position were carefully located and by means of a meridian projection through the zenith and the pole were very nicely paired across the celestial vault. He also draws attention to the five celestial "palaces" consisting of the central palace (The northern circumpolar region) and the four truncated sectors of the celestial sphere, between the two circumpolar regions, whose central meridians are the solstices and equ oxes. From these he rationally deduces the celestial corres dences of the five elements. A further comparison of

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the dodecanary subdivisions and the 28 hsü indicates a much higher degree of consistency and symmetry than has previously been noticed.

The basis of all Chinese astronomy was of course divinatory. The paramount influence of the seasons with its real relation to the sun and its apparent relation to the moon (arising from the fact that the positions of the quadratures and syzygies are indirect indicators of the sun's position) served as a basis for an elaborate system of presumed correspondence between heaven and earth.

De Saussure makes practically no mention of the five planets. Beyond occasional references to the planets as being located in such and such soli-lunar section of the sky and therefore having such and such a significance and correlating them with the five elements, the Chinese do not seem to have taken much stock of them. In this respect they have proved to-be wiser than the West since although the planets may have a minute influence on the sun and so on the earth, their effects are so insignificant compared with the sun's own proper fluctuations and the changes due to the earth's irregularities and motions, that they can be wholly neglected except in secular matters such as glacial periods, etc., when they may have cumulative effect on the earth's orbit. One logical reason for correlating them to man lay in the fact that of all cosmic phenomena they alone have periods which can be compared with those which occur in man's career.

The early Chinese seem to have wisely confined their astronomical science principally to the question of climate. The two modern applications of astronomy to navigation and cosmic physics could scarcely have been anticipated and on the whole (disregarding late Taoist superstitions) their ideas from a modern point of view compare very favourably with those of the early west.

M. de Saussure freely adopts the theory of the antiquity of the Yin and Yang idea. Is this antiquity quite certain? The two characters certainly occur on the Stone Drums but not in their philosophical connection and it is perhaps questionable whether the Pa Kua were analysed into Yin and Yang as such before the time of Wên Wang. Perhaps the bone relics will enable this point to be settled eventually.

These essays were awarded the Giles prize by the *Académie des Inscriptions* in March 1921.

HERBERT CHATLEY.

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Chinese Family and Commercial Law. By G. Jamieson, M.A., C.M.G. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd. 1921.

Most reading people know Maine's *Ancient Law*, and are able to air their knowledge of the fact that in China as among the Romans the family is the social unit, and that the *patris potestas* obtains here as it did there. This is easy, and this is generally all ; they get out of their depth if asked to discuss the results of that difference from the modern individualism of the West. To all such readers, if they are really interested in the civilization around them here, this book by a Barrister-at-Law, formerly a well-known resident and H.B.M. Consul-General, will be of considerable value, though of course it is of more special use to law students.

It is well known that commercial law as such is not recognized in China : all offences are criminal. There is no general rule to guide in cases of bankruptcy, partnership, etc. Mr. Jamieson has, however, taken advantage of the fact that the Mixed Court since its institution sixty years ago has distinguished civil from criminal cases, and by studying the incomplete records he has been able to produce what he terms "this pioneer treatise on Civil Law as it now prevails."

The plan of the work is to give first the translation of a section of the code and follow it with a commentary. The subjects thus treated are the law of Succession and Inheritance, Marriage Laws, Village organization, Land Tenure and Taxation, and Commercial Law ; and there are two appendices, in which are given some translations of Chinese reports of criminal cases throwing light on civil rights, and also a collection of cases decided in the Mixed Court. Those who need for practical reasons to know about the liability of guarantors, or of partners in a bankrupt firm, or about the negotiability of promissory notes, or *shéng ko* land, or native banks, will here find judgements that have been given ; but apart from any business usefulness the whole book is good reading for any intelligent student of Chinese civilization.

China, Captive or Free? A Study of China's Entanglements.—By Rev. Gilbert Reid, A.M., D.D. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1921.

This Review does not deal with modern missions : there are enough periodicals devoted to that special object ; nor with current politics—Heaven knows there are more than enough journals dealing with them. Every petty or potty journalist screeches a plan to save the State, the Empire or the Republic ; and still the world is not saved.

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We have therefore but little to say about such a very political work as Dr. Reid's: other journals, if they notice it, will probably be glad to tear it to pieces. Our remarks are general, not touching the matter of the book.

It is hardly likely we can discuss a work which teaches the Chinese that "between these two Allies [Great Britain and Japan] —upper and nether millstones—China is being ground."

The author is well known in China. Founder and Director of the International Institute he had a fine opportunity of standing aloof from all that was merely national, but he chose to take up a strong pro-German position, resulting in the alienation of friends and the wreck of the Institute. He humorously speaks of himself as having been persecuted for righteousness' sake, is quite impenitent, and fails to see that if French, British, Japanese and even American "great diplomats" found him obnoxious there may have been something in it.

The value of the book will not be to the reading public, but to the author himself; for the Chinese will by it be led to consider him as China's one, best friend, and will rally round him.

It is one of the books which are not books—it is mere political journalism, with a binding. Instead of digesting the subject, then writing on it from inward intimate knowledge with a flowing and a glowing pen, the author seems rather to have written round a collection of clippings from innumerable sources authoritative or obscure. A fifth of the whole seems to us to be quotations. The journalistic and unliterary nature of the work is seen for instance in "The Allies . . . would have had no *raison d'être* to intrigue," etc.; while we think the reminiscence of the Foolish Virgins—by a missionary,—is a gem of journalism: "The U.S. Constitution, like the Sermon on the Mount, both slumbered and slept."

While entirely disagreeing with so much of the book we can honour the writer for the grit with which he sticks to his mistakes and returns to face a situation he has himself made difficult; and so far as the book may help him to secure a ground for doing useful work for the Chinese we need not grudge him any success, and may even wish him God-speed.

Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. LII—1921. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh.

As with former volumes so with this we have to regret that it contains too large a proportion of what may be called amateurish work. That amateurs should be encouraged goes without

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saying, for otherwise how could they "come on" to be the great authorities of the future ? Much of their work is valuable in itself, too, and of great interest ; our only complaint is that the Journal does not have a larger proportion of papers of permanent and authoritative value. Such papers are those by Skvortzow on the Agriculture etc., of China ; by Mr. Wilkinson on Exogamy in China ; and one or two more. All scraps of information about aborigines are eagerly welcomed by students of Anthropology, but it is obvious that six weeks visit to a tribe in Hainan or a pleasure trip through Kweichow province can hardly supply much really reliable data to scientists

Morse suggests a locality for the island of Lampaçao, which for centuries has been as lost as Atlantis itself. It is queer that Favier in his *Peking* gives a crude picture of the island, but does refer to it in the text.

Mrs. Ayscough introduces us to new ideas about translating Chinese poetry. We have long been convinced that no one person is equal to the task, but it seems strange to have a poem "Translated by F. Ayscough, Rendering, Any Lowell." Of another it is said "The translation is based on the analysis of the character." We think that neither Burns nor Shakespeare paused to consider the etymology of the words they used, and if the Chinese poets did not simply use the words they knew in the common significance they had at the time, their poetry was more artificial than we suspected, and the subject to-day, instead of being one of the most difficult of studies becomes almost impossible—and not worth while.

There is room for further improvement in the proof-reading. "Any" Lowell, being presumably American, might be rightly so named ; but it looks like a printer's error. *Sum* (for *sun*), *emblemn*, *prefectly ressemble*, all within a few lines, show carelessness, and so does the irregularity of diacritic marks in romanized words. *Jejunenesse* is a remarkable word, and it is honoured by being put among the very small—far too small—list of *errata* : we are told to read *jejeuness* ; but we still refuse.

On p. 206 there is a curious blunder—an incorrect correction, making confusion worse confounded. It is said a certain book is 'not by Giles but by Gyle.' As every one knows the popular writer or compiler is named Geil.

The Journal cannot be neglected by any who care for Chinese studies, and the present number will give them a good deal of interesting and useful reading.

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